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INCLUDING

Guidelines for Training Development Administrators
by Donald C. Stone

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by Dhirendra Kumar Vajpeyi

Local Government in Turkey
by Dr. Vakur Versan

BOOK REVIEWS
by Professor A. H. Hanson, Stanley Fukawa, T. H. Marshall, Lord Twining

An Impression of the Theory of Prismatic Society
by Claude Wallis with a Commentary by Fred Riggs

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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Editor's Notes

CLAUDE WALLIS with his unique knowledge of local government, its laws, systems and procedures throughout the world, and a member of the Editorial Committee of this *Journal* from its earliest *Journal of African Administration* days, has, alas, felt compelled to retire owing to ill-health. His departure is a sad loss to the *Journal* to which he devoted much time in considering manuscripts and in reading and correcting proofs, besides helping to guide its policies and always acting as a wise counsellor and kindly Solomon to a long succession of editors who never hesitated to seek and to benefit from his advice.

It is appropriate that this issue should contain his impression of a stimulating book by Fred Riggs, Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, entitled *Administration in Developing Countries* in which the new theory of Prismatic Society is put forward. To give the theory its due we also publish Prof. Riggs' comments on the impressions of Mr. Wallis and a review by A. H. Hanson, Professor of Political Science at Leeds of the book in which Professor Riggs expounds it.

Professor Riggs writes that his book is intended for the political scientist; it is, however, available to any administrator from his bookseller. We feel therefore that it is right at this early stage in the development of his theory that attention should be drawn to it in this *Journal*.

It might be said that administrative techniques and training have for some time now remained on a plateau with no peaks left to scale and with the emphasis on 'O & M' changes to burnish and make more efficient an instrument that is not basically evolving to meet the development administration needs of the latter half of the twentieth century.

Whether or not Professor Riggs has produced the Einstein-like breakthrough in the approach to administration in developing countries which Claude Wallis for one feels may well prove to be the case, we consider that those responsible for training administrators and administrators themselves, could well benefit from study of the Prismatic Society theory. It is not easy to absorb the language which Professor Riggs has invented to explain his ideas. It must be hoped that he or others may soon provide a more simplified version for the general reader and particularly for the administrator so as to help him understand his problems in developing countries. For an understanding of Professor Riggs' theory could, we feel, help an administrator new to a developing country more readily to appreciate such phenomena as examples of "strategic learning" and "strategic spending" which he would undoubtedly meet.

We emphasised again, in our Notes for the July issue, the very real need for public administration training to concentrate on development administration. We are, therefore, particularly glad to publish in this issue an article by Dean Stone of Pittsburgh University on 'Guidelines for training development administrators'. Dean Stone makes clear in his cogently argued contribution the main administrative problems facing developing countries; how they should set about resolving them in co-operation with the donor countries;

how the developed countries can best gear themselves to provide the most efficacious assistance. Dean Stone concludes 'each nation – new or old – has its own peculiar development needs and training resources and thus must determine those programmes most suitable for its own national advancement:' to achieve this, the guidelines here suggested deserve close study.

We also draw attention to a forthright article by Mr. Vajpeyi on the problems facing elected members and executive officers in the Municipal Corporations of Uttar pradesh, the first of two articles by Dr. West on the establishment of the Fijian administration, and a general picture of local government in Turkey by Professor Versan.

Guide Lines for Training Development Administrators

By DONALD C. STONE

Dr. Stone is Dean of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh.

EACH country must design educational and training programmes to meet its own particular needs for personnel with the various competences required to produce national development. The objective, however, always should be to meet the requirements of pre-service and in-service preparation through a combination of internal and external education so that all personnel categories having important development roles will be covered. In this article I shall emphasize the tasks of formulating and implementing development plans, programmes, and projects.

Since development administration is a continuous cycle of formulating, evaluating, and implementing interrelated measures to reach established objectives in a scheduled time sequence, it differs from the conduct of such traditional functions as the maintenance of law and order, road repair, or tax collection. It is concerned with planning and administering social and economic change. Accordingly, education in development has a different focus and covers different subjects from those treated in traditional courses in public administration, political science, economics, or law.

Thus universities, schools, and training institutes committed to education, research, and advisory services in development administration must determine the scope and character of the fields and subject matter with which they will deal. Such centres must develop in their staffs the knowledge and competences to handle these broad and in many respects, highly technical and complex subjects. All technical and administrative personnel attached to ministries and agencies need some grounding in the substantive issues and processes of development. Programme and project personnel as well as development planners and administrators require intensive and comprehensive preparation.

At lower operating levels and in many specialized and technical fields, the knowledge and skills required may not need much, if any, change to recognize the special problems of development. Sub-professional personnel need most to be qualified in their respective fields, but any who enjoy administrative responsibilities also need solid and continuing training for that purpose. Since commitment to national or community goals is important, the inculcation in every employee of an appreciation of his role in development and a sense of common purpose is desirable.

In designing curricula, it is suggested that training centres explore three sources of knowledge and experience: (1) the tasks and processes of development; (2) the administrative obstacles to development; (3) educational and training activities in other parts of the world.

Because it is not felt useful, no distinction is made between the terms "education" and "training", although it is recognized that they have varying

connotations. Since we are concerned with "professional" as contrasted with "general" education, both terms seem applicable.

Tasks and Processes of Development Administration

Development administration is the process of formulating and implementing plans, policies, programmes, and projects and of inducing change in people's attitudes and behaviour toward life, education, and work with the purpose of creating a dynamic and progressive society through the application of modern technology and, hopefully, humane social relations. The development of an entire society – rural and urban, private and public – is entailed, and many different decisions and activities calling on many kinds of people are involved.

The development process entails a round of tasks: (1) the formulation and reformulation of objectives and goals, (2) analyses of the resources and conditions which determine the feasibility of goals, (3) adoption of strategic policies and concepts to guide the nation in pursuing these goals, (4) the preparation of national development plans, (5) the execution of programmes and projects to implement the plans, (6) the creation of organizations and procedures, (7) the motivation and education of the people to change their habits and roles, (8) the development of personnel with competences to carry out the tasks, and (9) the evaluation of progress and methods.

Many technologies and fields of knowledge and action are involved in development administration. For instance, extensive information is required about the natural resources of a country, its productive capacities and performance, available manpower, employment characteristics and potentials, foreign trade and exchange; taxation policies and income, the capabilities and deficiencies of its private and public institutions, its capital formation and credit resources, educational system, and the habits of its people.

Development administration has its most extensive application in the sectors or functions of national effort. For example, to attain a country's goal of producing more food, the ministry of agriculture is faced with initiating or improving agricultural research and planning, extension services, more equitable land utilization, low-interest agricultural credit, producer and consumer co-operatives, fertilizer production, farm-to-market roads, and many other tasks. Success depends on effective organization and administration and capable personnel at all levels.

The goals, values, and strategies of change may vary widely, but there always are generic processes through which agreement on goals is reached and through which plans, policies, programmes, and projects are formulated and carried out. These processes are modified, however, by the degree to which the means to implement them are democratic and espouse human values or, contrarily, rely on humanly degrading constraints and authoritarian methods.

Furthermore, and contrary to prevailing practice, regional and local governments must be involved deeply in the process. The interrelationship between urban and industrial development, and the necessity that municipal governments play major roles in planning an area's industrial growth should be recognized. At the same time, rural and community development programmes which encourage farmers, villagers, and townsmen to initiate projects and

activities to enhance their individual and collective incomes and living conditions are major components of any national development effort.

Administrative Obstacles to Development

In planning development efforts, one must learn why they are not taking place more rapidly. What are the obstacles? What can be done about them?

It is usually clear that the difficulties are primarily political and administrative, not economic. The following administrative obstacles to development can be observed in almost all countries. Each person may judge how relevant they are to his own country.

Poor government organization is a major obstacle to development and arises from numerous factors, among them, dispersed, diffused, and duplicating functions, offices, and responsibilities; inadequate managerial facilities; inadequate planning of administration; political interference; and lack of skilful administrators.

Most government officials charged with planning and administering development and most external personnel provided under technical assistance agreements do not have adequate experience or training to design and establish effective organizations, institutions, processes, and operating systems.

To add to the difficulty, government functions are generally dispersed among an excessive number of ministries, authorities, and agencies. New agencies and public corporations to fulfil development objectives are superimposed – often necessarily – upon traditionally oriented governments without a prior review of the entire structure. The result is a multiplicity of organs, duplication of function, and diffusion of responsibility.

Offices needed for planning, programming, budgeting, personnel administration, and organization and methods assistance are often inadequate or lacking, especially in the ministries.

Furthermore, countries often attempt to administer public and quasi-public enterprises on the basis of traditional governmental control or, conversely, to provide such a degree of autonomy that the institutions are no longer accountable to the public interest.

Hand-in-hand with poor governmental organization, one usually finds political instability and ineffective leadership. Since a sound political and leadership system is a precondition for administrative action, one of the necessarily unexpressed functions of development administrators is to educate leaders in the political requirements for development and help them realize, at the same time, that a 'good' politician does not interfere with government operations while engaging in his citizen-action and legislative roles. In the absence of established principles of political and administrative behaviour, civil servants in some countries engage improperly in political activity and in dispensing favours.

Stemming from poor organization and programming is a lack of co-ordination, especially in respect to timing, between the agencies responsible for planning and financing programmes and projects and those responsible for executing them. Funds, foreign exchange, materials, personnel, and other necessary resources may not be authorized or available when needed to carry out a project or activity.

In addition, there is seldom synchronization among the headquarters of

ministries or departments in planning and implementing field projects and services. For instance, highways may not be planned in relation to industrial undertakings; or, in an extensive agricultural programme, the ministries responsible for storage, transport, and marketing facilities may fail to mesh their activities.

To compound the harm of unco-ordinated operations, the headquarters officers of ministries and other agencies are often insufficiently decentralized. They fail to make responsibilities of subordinate units clear or to delegate authority to field offices. Detailed transactions are forwarded to central offices for needless review resulting in delay and inefficiency.

Regions, provinces, cities, and towns are not consulted or adequately involved in formulating development plans and operations. Neither are they given sufficient operational authority, tax powers, conditional grants, or opportunity to organize local programmes which would make a maximum contribution to development. Most serious of all, recognition is not given to the fact that effective urban government, with its infrastructure and services, is essential to industrial development.

Development plans are often unrealistic or 'non-functional'; they do not incorporate the administrative measures, organizational provisions, and procedures essential to their implementation; nor are they backed up by well designed and evaluated projects. They often consist mainly of aspirations or hopeful statistical projections. Ministries and other operating agencies seldom participate sufficiently in the formulation of development plans. Operating agencies, in turn, do not understand how planning can help them perform their functions.

Furthermore, plans often do not stress the importance of non-governmental initiative. The amount of progress in a country depends largely on the efforts of individuals and groups to improve conditions, grow more and better food, produce goods and services, make better homes, and enhance community life. It is thus essential to incorporate into a country's development plans positive policies and programmes to foster and assist private efforts and entrepreneurism.

Development depends on putting projects into operation, establishing new services, accelerating productive enterprises, creating new institutions. However, development programmes are often inoperable because the technicians who prepare them seem to view them as self-executing and do not back them up with operationally designed programmes and projects. The projects are described in vague terms and inadequately tested for economic viability or administrative feasibility; data on natural resources and manpower needs and availability are fragmentary; required manpower, equipment, and materials are not scheduled; or financing is not fully arranged. Only a few countries have established effective systems of scheduling, progress reporting, and evaluation, or have developed a staff responsible for identifying and removing difficulties, thus expediting the execution of projects.

Since many financial resources are utilized in the development of a country, they all need to be identified and controlled when development plans are formulated and budgets prepared and authorized. However, a review of existing practice shows that many funds are uncontrolled or left completely to the discretion of autonomous bodies.

Because budgeting is traditionally organized as a financial rather than administrative or programming process, and because some financial resources are usually overlooked by the budget system, budget administration fails as a key instrument in preparing and implementing development programmes. Similarly, accounting and reporting are fragmentary and largely unrelated to management needs. Faulty taxing and inadequate collection systems not only impair confidence in, but also reduce available funds critically needed for a country's development efforts.

Serious as these obstacles are, the lack of trained manpower is of most immediate concern. Many fields of knowledge, skills, and competences are required in the administration of development. Without educational planning and studies to identify personnel needs, development, no matter how well planned, cannot succeed. Even so, an understanding of the importance of educational planning in the achievement of development objectives is still limited.

Politicians and professional educators find it difficult to realize that mass education in most low-income countries must, of necessity, be expanded with constraint in order to conserve funds vital to capital formation and technical and professional education for priority development tasks. There is also the problem of inundating the labour market with school leavers for whom job opportunities are unavailable. This often contributes to the growth of wretched cities and slums.

Manpower surveys and plans, while estimating the number of personnel required by broad groupings, seldom break these estimates down to cover the specific categories required for the different administrative and programme tasks. Consequently, national education and training agencies do not have adequate guidelines and thus overlook the preparation of many categories of personnel needed by national, regional, and local governments.

Educational programmes in both the developing and assisting countries have also failed to produce the required personnel. Public administration education is seldom oriented to development; economics curricula give insufficient attention to development policies, planning, and methods of implementation; training endeavours for sector personnel overlook the need for persons equipped to plan, organize, and administer sector programmes and cope with their economic and financial aspects.

Finally, high quality personnel are not recruited and promoted for the tasks of development. Most civil service systems fail to define adequately the tasks and qualifications required. The low level of remuneration often prevents competent civil servants from living honestly or devoting full time to their jobs.

These deficiencies can be eradicated by educational planning and developing effective training institutions. In designing a training programme for a nation, a study of experience elsewhere is always helpful, if it is kept in mind that another obstacle to development is the common practice of transplanting external systems rather than designing a system suitable to indigenous conditions with due regard to experience elsewhere.

Educational Precedents

While there is an increasing amount of relevant experience on which to draw, public administration education, for the most part, has been tradition and culture-bound. With the impetus of a few innovative institutions and the

collaborative project of consultation and development of materials among schools and institutes of public administration under the auspices of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, training programmes are increasingly responding to the new and complex problems of government and to social change.

The programmes of universities and training centres in the less industrialized countries have been determined largely by the home practices of overseas colonial officers and technical assistance advisers and by the foreign knowledge gained by nationals educated in Europe and the United States. Since few programmes in the industrialized countries cover economic and social development, and since most public administration advisers have devoted their interests to other subjects, it is not surprising that genuine education in development administration is fragmentary almost everywhere.

Inasmuch as the sponsors of any new curriculum to prepare development administrators will inevitably receive advice from persons who assume that the programmes should correspond to those in their home countries, it may be useful to note some different patterns of public administration education in the United States, Europe, Great Britain, and other areas of the world.

In the United States. In 1961, the United States Office of Education reported that over one hundred and fifty universities in the United States were conducting graduate programmes in public administration. The great majority of these, five years later, still enroll only a handful of students and either cover little beyond the social sciences or deal fragmentarily with administration. There are few courses embodying the knowledge and skills directly related to development administration as applied to either the United States or to low-income countries.

Until recently the assumption has been that a curriculum in public administration should consist of the study of political science and a few specially designed courses in such subjects as personnel, finance, organization, management, and administrative law.

However, increased attention is being directed to psychological and sociological aspects of administration: human relations in organization, decision-making, quantitative technique applications, and operations research methodologies. While these behavioural and quantitative approaches develop important insights and tools, much of their teaching and research overlooks policy problems, the tasks of achieving social change, and the grimy work of substantive operations.

Furthermore, little public administration education in the United States is genuinely multidisciplinary or professionally oriented. Naturally programmes tied to political science departments are primarily interested in and capable of dealing with economic and social development in its political aspects. In less than a dozen universities is significant attention given to urban development and administration, and in only three or four of some forty universities which train professional city planners is planning integrated with urban fields or professions other than faculties of architecture and fine arts. Even rarer is the complementing of curricula in urban planning and development with course work in economic and social development so that the planning of urban infrastructure and services can be related to programmes of industrialization. It is encouraging to note, however, that several university economics departments and schools of business administration, agriculture,

public health, and education are more and more concerned with problems of developing countries.

But, most important, the number of professional public administration schools is growing; several are now initiating programmes focused on local, national, and international policy and programme development and implementation. A few of these schools include courses on economic and social development. Moreover, comparative study of development problems is attracting considerable interest. Indeed, professional schools of public administration and international affairs with multidisciplinary interests are developing co-operative arrangements with other faculties concerned with specialized development activities.

The overseas inquirer wishing to secure professional help from institutions in the United States with significant pre-service or in-service development administration programmes must exercise resourcefulness to discover the schools which are multidisciplinary in their use of knowledge and professional in their orientation. These schools demonstrate one lesson relevant to training centres in rapidly developing countries: faculties of public administration must be so organized as to avoid domination by any single academic discipline and financial control of academic senates. Curricula and instruction must draw freely upon many disciplines, professions, and technologies.

In Europe. In most European countries, the study of public administration has been dominated by faculties of law. In this context, administration is viewed as a legal or juridical process. It is not surprising to find in such ministries as public works, social welfare, and agriculture that nearly all personnel in important positions have been trained in law and know little about, or may lack interest in, the field in which they are working. Although many lawyers with their special skills develop into competent administrators, the drawback to their training is that law is concerned with precedent, conserving the status quo, a concern hardly conducive to planning and implementing social change.

France's *École Nationale d'Administration* has a radically different approach, since it recruits by competitive examination and trains the cream of university graduates for civil service positions of high administrative responsibility. In the *École's* two-cycle programme, the students are first assigned to *prefets*, overseas offices, or a foreign country, and next return to Paris for intensive training which emphasizes practical applications of administration, politics, law, economics, finance, sociology, statistics and accounting, and organization and methods. The *École* also conducts shorter programmes for foreign administrators.

Generally, however, in France and other European countries, formal programmes for training mid-career and senior administrators are fragmentary. Among the innovative institutions are the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague; the German Development Institute in Berlin and the Institute of Administration in Speyer; the *Centro de Formacion y Perfeccionamiento de Funcionarios in Alcala de Henares*, Spain; the *Scuola de Perfezinomento en Scienze Amministrative* in Bologna; the Graduate Administrative School in Zagreb, the Middle East Technical University in Ankara; and the *Centre de Formation des Experts de la Co-operation Technique Internationale* in Paris. The work of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in fostering development training programmes also is noteworthy.

In Great Britain. No single discipline or group of disciplines dominates professional public administration education in Britain for the simple reason that not many persons appear to recognize that professional education is feasible or worthy of attention by a scholarly institution. The prevailing view seems to be that if the country's educational system instils the capacity to think in persons with good minds and solid character, such individuals will be able to develop administrative competence no matter their field of study. And there is considerable truth in this view. In a compact country which nurtures democratic processes and responsible citizenship, the induction of superior young men and women into a stable and protective civil service has resulted in competent governmental administration.

However, under the challenge of rapid technical and social change, the insufficiency of this method has become apparent, not only in England but especially within those less-developed countries which have copied British civil service practices. A notable response is the innovative programme of the new Centre for Administrative Studies established by the British Treasury although, as in the French *École*, scant attention is given to problems of low-income countries.

Other responses are found in the University of Manchester's courses for overseas government servants; in the economic development curricula at Cambridge, Leeds, and the London School of Economics; and in Birmingham University's Institute of Local Government Studies. Stirrings are noted at the new University of Sussex.

Fine examples of in-service non-academic training in administration are found at the Royal Institute of Public Administration in London and at the Administrative Staff College at Henley-on-Thames.

In general, however, programmes are either fragmentary or largely take the form of the study of politics, economics, and history. Universities have not yet taken significant steps towards organizing professional schools of public administration. One wonders whether Britain will parallel its current commitment to establish modern schools of business administration with comparable schools of public administration.

The administrative structure of local government endures in Britain not only because of honest and conscientious civil servants, but also because upright and civic-minded citizens are willing to serve without remuneration as council members and aldermen despite their having to decide many personnel, supply and other administrative matters. When exported to the less-developed countries, however, the lack of provision for administrative leadership and authority serves as a serious defect. The removal of council members from administrative responsibilities involving discretion over funds, material, and equipment is essential in combating corruption.

Until both the national and local civil services provide some recognition of the value of professional education in public administration, little incentive will be given to the universities to create quality schools and programmes. While any country should be alert and flexible in recruiting administrators, wherever talent can be found, nevertheless, unless there is some recognition in recruitment and promotion in Britain and in developing countries which have based their civil services on the British pattern of the merit of relevant professional preparation, the necessary educational and research underpinning will not be created.

In Other Areas. Most universities in other areas have tended to copy the above prototypes. One observer has commented that the public administration curriculum of a university in the United States, Britain, or France can be described by examining the curriculum of a foreign institution in the Middle East, Asia, or Africa which one of its professors or graduates has helped to design. This seems less true in Latin America than in other parts of the world. The innovative developments in public administration education in Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Colombia are especially notable.

Those few schools and institutes in rapidly developing countries which have introduced academic and short-term courses focused on development provide perhaps the most useful examples. The Institute of Administration at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, is a good illustration. With the assistance of a U.S. AID-financed project, the University of Pittsburgh, which has devoted major efforts to education and research in economic and social development, has integrated course work in this field with pre-service baccalaureate programmes in public administration, business and enterprise management, and international affairs. A concentration in development administration is contemplated. In addition, the Institute provides research and advisory services and conducts a variety of short-term courses for central, provincial, and local officials in the North and for personnel in public and private enterprise which increasingly include material about development. The University of Manchester, with Ministry of Overseas Development support, has provided substantial assistance in upgrading the Institute.

At the University of Indonesia, where instruction in public administration failed to focus on development, the Faculty of Economics, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, is adding a new department in Public Economic Administration. Members of the Faculty are now studying economic and social development administration at the universities of California, Pittsburgh, and Wisconsin.

These and many other notable programmes show that an increasing amount of valuable and relevant experience is available to any university or institute which wishes to strengthen its education for development administration.

University Organization. There is, however, a major obstacle to establishing educational programmes of stature in most countries: traditional university organization. Innovation often is blocked both by inadequate provision for institutional leadership and by the manner in which academic power is distributed. The absence of responsible policy and programme leadership destroys initiative and encourages control by self-serving minorities. To assume that effective administrative planning and programme development with final decision-making can be vested entirely in faculty boards and senates is to create paralysis. Of greatest damage to innovation and modernization is the frequent practice of giving senates or faculty councils budget allocating authority.

Fortunately more dynamic forms of university leadership and administration are emerging, with adequate opportunity for faculty involvement. More research and guidelines, however, are needed on how to inject modern administrative management into the organization and operation of universities. An analysis of this problem can be found in the *Symposium on Education in Public Administration* issued by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences in 1963.

Because of these institutional shortcomings, many schools and institutes concerned with development have had to be established outside the university framework. While this arrangement provides freedom from control and suppression by disinterested if not antagonistic academic coalitions, it denies the prestige and educational resources which affiliation with a first-class university would offer. To be avoided also is a series of small centres, each covering some special governmental function or field, or the separation of pre-service and in-service training. Perhaps the solution is to develop schools and institutes independently and then combine them later under a university umbrella with distinctive statutes to facilitate their continued development.

An additional problem arises in locating universities and centres outside major urban areas. This removes them from supporting infrastructure, makes them inaccessible for part-time study, and removes faculty members from making a maximum impact on society.

Who Should be Taught

In consultation with national planning and other agencies concerned with manpower needs, every university and administrative training centre should determine the fields and personnel categories on which to concentrate. For some time, much of the education will need to be mid-career, featuring middle-level operational and technical work, and senior-level programme and sectoral administration. Some of the education will be academic and geared to long-term needs, but much of it will be part-time, short-term, specialized, and intensive.

Different Categories of Personnel. The following illustrates the diverse personnel to be considered in formulating programmes for pre-service and in-service education. The different categories obviously overlap and share technical and administrative responsibilities in varying combinations.

—Government leaders, political and administrative, who must know something about the strategy and processes required to foster rapid change with nation-wide participation

—Personnel concerned with the formulation and implementation of development policies, plans, and programmes

—Administrators and supervisors in ministries, regions, and local governments concerned with development in specific sectors

—Personnel in ministries, enterprises, and regional and local authorities who design, evaluate, schedule, manage, control, and operate projects

—Professional and technical personnel (engineers, health officers, agronomists) who have supervisory roles in ministries and local agencies but who also need some training in management, institution building, programme development and operation, and administrative problem-solving

—Personnel in national, regional, and municipal offices assigned to improve organization and management and create administrative capabilities essential to development

—Municipal administrators and specialized personnel concerned with formulating and implementing local urban development and industrialization programmes

—Community development and rural action programme personnel

—Statisticians, accountants, health technicians, agriculture extension workers, and many other categories of specialists whose improved skills are needed in development activities

—Persons assigned to economic, fiscal, and social questions handled by the country's foreign ministry or foreign service, or to international agencies

—Instructors to train these various categories of personnel

Most of the personnel above are located in ministries and in other agencies at national, regional, and local levels. All need some understanding of and commitment to the goals and tasks of development. Indeed, since social change requires massive citizen involvement, an appreciation of development objectives and programmes should be incorporated into almost every aspect of a nation's educational and training system.

Determining Personnel Requirements. An essential element of development planning is the projection of requirements for different manpower categories over a period of years and of educational programmes to produce such persons. This calls for inventories of the currently available personnel and the prospective personnel being trained. While many countries make general manpower studies, few analyze the effect of prospective changes in national, regional, and local governments on personnel needs and the measures required to provide trained personnel for the categories listed above.

If the development plans of every country contained such an analysis and a definitive action programme to produce qualified persons for each category, national capabilities would be greatly enhanced.

An analysis of required knowledge and skills shows that some are common to several categories. For example, persons in several of the categories need a broad understanding of development strategies, processes, and problems to perform staff work for the head of state, planning and budget agencies, development banks, ministries, and enterprises with important development responsibilities.

Another cluster consists of personnel in ministries and other operating agencies who handle tasks of programme planning, budgeting, administrative improvement, and project design and management. These sector staffs must be grounded in these processes as well as in the substance of their fields. This type of training requires subject matter which bears little resemblance to traditional public administration courses.

Training proposals often emphasize the need for higher level manpower and neglect one of the most critical shortages of manpower in the less-developed countries—the lower supervisory and sub-professional personnel who perform specific technical and implementation tasks. Facilities to train such persons should be included in any educational plan. Most may be trained in institutions other than those used for development generalists and sectoral administrators, but trained they must be.

Most countries are fulfilling only a fraction of their training needs because personnel or manpower surveys usually fail to cover such needs and to allocate funds and employees to training programmes. Yet these investments are as essential as those for traditional capital projects. Indeed, training is one of the primary means by which administrative capital is created. Just as consumer consumption must be restrained in order to accelerate capital

formation, so must the services of governmental personnel be temporarily sacrificed for training assignments to produce administrative capital.

What Should be Taught

The curriculum for each training programme should obviously vary according to the personnel category it is intended to train. Baccalaureate or post-graduate degree programmes will entail broad subject matter while short-term courses may be highly specialized and stress particular competences.

University or independent institute programmes should encompass the strategies, policies, processes, and technologies entailed in comprehensive societal modernization. Curricula should, therefore, embrace both the knowledge and methods applicable to social, economic, and administrative planning and development.

The mastery of analytical and problem-solving methodologies as applied to development situations, sectoral fields, and technical operations will produce immediately usable skills and, at the same time, provide a basis for growth and an ability to carry increased future responsibilities. Although they need to be known, governmental routines and administrative procedures should receive little stress.

The life-style of a people affects significantly the manner in which organizations and programmes are designed and implemented; emphasis on comparative studies and problems of cross-cultural adaptation is thus important. Instructional programmes should recognize the significance of cultural and environmental factors in development.

In designing curricula and selecting instructors, the knowledge and skills of relevant disciplines and professions should be tapped with course work from the perspective of one specialized field avoided. Although in-service training programmes for specialized and sub-professional personnel will be more restricted and technical, on the whole, curricula should integrate the political, economic, social, legal, administrative, and technical aspects of each subject. A multidisciplinary approach is achieved, as some astute observer has noted, only when varied disciplinary contributions are blended under one skull.

It will not be easy to secure support for such a balanced blend of subject matter since most persons concerned with development approach it from a technical or segmented point of view and overlook operational elements. Economists, statisticians, engineers, agricultural specialists, public health and education officers, and, one must add, public administrators trained in traditional curricula, usually are so engrossed in traditional activities that they thwart balanced programmes adjusted to strategic development criteria or overlook the grimy tasks of executing programmes and projects.

It is essential therefore that any programme recognize the difference between professional education and education in the disciplines. No aspect of public and development administration is subject to more confusion. University and institute programmes of education in development administration must avoid restricting this professional field to the specialized focus and different function of political science, economics, or law. Just as medicine both comprises a broader range of knowledge than biology or anatomy and features a clinical element, so too administration requires both a multi-disciplinary and clinical approach.

What then is the role of the social sciences in development education? They have important functions to perform, first in teaching and research, covering the knowledge and competences which they alone can contribute; and second, in providing fundamental knowledge for those engaged in advanced professional study for administrative and operational responsibilities. Any generalist or specialist in professional education should be aware of the contribution of the social sciences to development. It will often be necessary for schools concerned with training development practitioners to provide preparatory or basic course work in these fields, but the curriculum will differ radically from that of the social sciences. It will have an operational or applied orientation. The instructors also must be interdisciplinary in their focus on the applied or operational aspects of development administration.

Educational Instruments

To serve the needs of the many categories of development personnel, a variety of programmes are needed – some international, but most national and even local. Educational policies designed to prepare the next generation for administrative and social infrastructure must be paralleled by intensive short-term programmes designed to upgrade present cadres. Listed below are some illustrative arrangements.

—Incorporation into secondary school and university curricula of those subjects which provide broad background in a country's national development problems

—Creation of special undergraduate and postgraduate public administration programmes which stress economic and social development and channel personnel directly into the mainstream of civil service responsibility at all levels

—Inclusion in professional curricula of courses which feature development problems and applications in the specialized field

—Provision, through a national institute or school of public administration, for a special pre-entry preparation period for secondary-school-or university-recruited civil service candidates

—Long- or short-term in-service training programmes for civil servants who need greater knowledge and skills to carry out development tasks

—Pre-service or in-service personnel assignment to academic or non-academic programmes in relevant development administration fields conducted in other countries or by regional and international organizations

—Conferences and seminars for senior civil servants and ministers

The scope of some of these programmes requires utilization of overseas or international resources. Few countries are equipped to provide postgraduate course work either for development generalists or specialists. Academic education in development administration will usually have to be confined to the baccalaureate level and to short-term advanced courses. To provide Master's and doctoral instruction and to prepare instructors, reliance must be placed on centres which cater to an international clientele.

To organize for development education, most countries committed to rapid technical modernization have established a number of schools and institutes. Many are highly restricted and lack resources to fulfil their

responsibilities well. Some are constituent elements of universities; others are autonomous. In addition to these formal educational centres, there are usually government administered training divisions to provide orientation, supervisory training, and technical information about programmes and procedures.

Every country needs at least one public administration training centre and each country of several million or more inhabitants needs a major public administration school or institute broadly concerned with the field of development. In addition to varied pre-service and in-service training programmes, such schools should engage in research, publication, and advisory services. Extensive research projects are essential for the development of knowledge required for teaching, operational guidance, and general public information. A substantial publication programme follows as a normal element in the operation of a school or institute.

Utilizing its research capabilities and scholarly resources, a school or institute becomes a natural instrument for conducting surveys and studies in government organization and management and in ways to strengthen the administration of development. Such work will contribute greatly to teaching effectiveness, but should not duplicate the government's administrative management or organization and methods offices.

Many universities and institutes in developing countries receive external assistance through multilateral and bilateral technical assistance agencies, while external universities are increasingly developing links with new schools.

A limiting factor in this otherwise ideal arrangement is the lack of personnel in overseas universities who are knowledgeable in development administration. Another method of gaining background to initiate such endeavours is to send staff members to other countries to examine what is relevant and secure advanced educational preparation.

In conclusion, what has been said here can only be considered general guidelines. Each nation – new or old – has its own peculiar development needs and training resources, and thus must determine those programmes most suitable for its own national advancement. With more experience and innovation, better guidelines can be developed.

Municipal Corporations in Uttar Pradesh; Elected Representatives and Executive Officers—their Roles and Relationship

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THE rapid pace of urbanization all over the world is creating new problems - economic, social and political - before city governments. These emerging cities, as Prof. Rose Hum Lee maintains, have played a dominant role in initiating and perpetuating changes in behaviour patterns and institutional organizations.[1] The area of municipal services is widening every day. The innovations in science and technology make the nature of these services highly technical and specialized, thus compelling ever more reliance upon experts and increasing the importance of administration. The basic policy questions, today, are interwoven with technical issues that require the services of an increasing number of specialists as well as persons trained in general administration. This has also posed new problems in the relation of elected representatives and the permanent executives in a municipal body. Therefore the central issue before city governments is how to achieve co-ordination between elected and appointed officials, in laying down policies and in their execution.

In America this bridge between the deliberative wing (elected representatives) and the executive is generally provided by the council-manager plan. It includes an elected council responsible for policy making and a professional administrator who executes policies and is accountable to the council. In turn, the council is responsible to the public for all policy-making and ultimately for the overall administration. The elected mayor, under the council-manager form, performs ceremonial functions and presides over the council. He has no administrative powers except in an emergency and exercises no vote. The manager is appointed by the council and serves during the pleasure of the council. The plan calls for lay citizens, political amateurs, to serve the community.[2]

The council-manager plan entrusts the execution of policies, as determined by the council, to a professional staff of administrators headed by the manager, but it does not turn the city over to complete control of an independent bureaucracy. The manager and his team are responsible for their actions to the political branch of the corporation. This system has been widely adopted in the U.S.A.[3]

[1] Rose Hum Lee, '*The City: Urbanism and Urbanization in Major World Regions*'. - New York, 1955, p. V.

[2] Charles R. Adrian: '*Governing Urban America*', pp. 220-21, McBraw Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, 1961. (Chicago.)

[3] In 1962, 49 per cent. of all the cities in the United States over 25,000 population and 39 per cent. of all cities between 10,000 and 25,000 had Council-Manager plan government.

The Municipal Year Book 1962: p. 291 - The International City Managers' Association.

The administrative set up, under the Uttar Pradesh *Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959, is somewhat similar to that of the council-manager plan in the U.S.A.

The U.P. *Nagar Mahapalika* bill was introduced to ensure 'better municipal government' in the Kanpur, Allahabad, Varanasi, Agra and Lucknow (KAVAL) towns through a scheme of decentralization and separation of powers between the permanent executives[4] and the elected representatives.[5] The advent of these corporations was hailed as a 'new phase in the history of local self government in this State'. The main distinction between these corporations and other municipal bodies is the separation of legislative and policy execution and administration. During the debate in the State Legislature a hope was expressed that elected representatives would not interfere with permanent executives because in the past such practices had led to 'inefficiency, bribery and corruption in municipalities'.[6] These two elected and appointed sides have to play quite different but complementary roles. The policies are to be determined by the elected representatives and administered by the officials. The jurisdiction of the *Mahapalika* has been laid down by Gazette notifications, ordinances and the U.P. *Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959 but in discussing administrative relationships it is only misleading to think in legal terminology. The administrative relationship has extra-legal dimensions also.

THE MAYOR

The act provides for a mayor to be elected annually.[7] He appoints top officials,[8] other than the chief executive officer, in consultation with the State Public Service Commission.[9] He can dismiss, reduce in rank and remove from service any official in consultation with the State Public Service Commission.[10] The mayor presides over the general meeting of the Corporation and possesses only a casting vote,[11] but he has no vote[12] when a no confidence motion against the deputy-mayor is to be discussed. The above statutory powers of the mayor show that he is, by and large, a figure-head. His powers are subject to serious limitations. The framers of the act were prompted by a desire to make the mayor an ornamental figure, with the limited tenure of a year. They wanted him to be above party politics and controversy. He should stand in the public eye as a civic leader rather than a full-time officer giving attention to multifarious, intricate and complex problems of civic ad-

[4] (i) *Mukhya Nagar Adhikari* (Chief Executive Officer.
(ii) *Upnagar Adhikari* (Deputy Executive Officer).
(iii) *Sahayak Nagar Adhikari* (Assistant Executive Officer).
(iv) *Nagar Abhiyanta* (Executive Engineer).
(v) *Swasthya Adhikari* (Health Officer).
(vi) *Mukhya Nagar Lekha Parikshak* (Chief Auditor).

[5] (i) *Nagar Pramukh* (Mayor).
(ii) *Upnagar Pramukh* (Deputy Mayor).
(iii) *Sabhasads* (Members of Corporation).

[6] Speech by Dr. Veer Bhan Bhatia; *U.P. Legislative Council proceedings;* 3rd December, 1958. Vol. 62, No. 2, p. 241.

[7] Section 15(i): *The U.P. Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959.
[8] See footnote 4.
[9] Section 107(1): *Ibid.*
[10] Section 110: *Ibid.*
[11] Section 16(5): *Ibid.*
[12] Section 17(2): *Ibid.*

ministration. It was pointed out that "if the mayor is given executive powers and a longer term, say five years, there are more chances of his involving in petty matters and arousing hostility and consequently no confidence motion against him, which will not be in keeping with his dignity and status as the first citizen of the city. We are giving prestige to mayor's office".[13]

The opposition in the state legislature was almost united in demanding that the mayor should be effective, have substantial powers and enjoy a term not less than two years. It was maintained that "it (the mayor's) must be an office which must be of effective utility and which could give a chance to the person concerned to do something. Therefore, the minimum period in any case ought not to be less than two years. One year tenure would create another situation. Persons desirous of this office would be manipulating all the time".[14] "He would indulge in politics for his re-election and pollute the public life in the city."[15]

The working of these municipal corporations showed that mayors were not satisfied in their figurehead positions. They felt that only those persons were respected, who had some executive powers. It is interesting to note that all conferences[16] of mayors have demanded a more effective and powerful position for the mayor. The first civic conference held at Lucknow adopted a resolution urging the State Government to amend the Municipal Corporations' Act, so as to give more powers to mayors. A deputation of Kanpur Municipal Corporation, led by the mayor himself, met the Chief Minister to present her a memorandum detailing the defects in the act and demanding direct election of the mayor for five years and with more powers of the corporation vested in him.[17]

The working of the mayoral office has shown it to exercise more influence than its seemingly impotent nature indicates. The political following, which a mayor must secure to win the election in the corporation, gives him a leading position in the shaping of policies. His prestige, his character and personality help him in securing support for his policies as also in influencing the work of standing committees and corporation administration. The extent of influence varies with individual mayors and their relationship with the members of the corporation, particularly with the opposition parties and the officials.

The separation of the executive and deliberative functions has not worked as was envisaged in the Act. The mayor not only interferes with the administration but also takes interest in petty matters, such as appointments, contracts, assessment of the property tax and the allotment of the corporation buildings.

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[13] Shri V. N. Sharma, Minister for Local Self Government (U.P.): *Proceedings of Legislative Council, U.P.*, 28th November, 1958. Vol. 61, No. 9, p. 535. Also – *Proceedings of Legislative Assembly*, 8th September, 1958, p. 735.

[14] Shri K. S. Hajela: *Proceedings of Legislative Council, U.P.*, 2nd December, 1958, Vol. 62, p. 234.

[15] Mr. Virendra Swarup: *Ibid*, 5th December, 1958.

[16] (i) Civic Conference Lucknow, July 17-18, 1963: *National Herald:* 17th and 18th July, 1963, Lucknow.
(ii) The Kanpur Municipal Corporation passed a resolution on 21st August, 1963, demanding more powers for mayors – *Civic Affairs:* September, 1963, p. 58 (Kanpur).
(iii) Conference of Mayors and Deputy-Mayors, Varanasi, March 22, 1964, *Civic Affairs:* April, 1964.

[17] *Civic Affairs:* February, 1964, p. 49. Also see – Mr. S. N. Kacker (Mayor Allahabad) in *Civic Affairs*, June, 1965, p. 458.

Though there are statutory provisions[18] to check such interference, yet there is ample scope for the mayor to have his way. He might not recommend the appointment of his relatives,[19] or get a contract for his partners but there are many whom he pleases, favours and satisfies. He is a public man and also a party man.

MAYOR AND SERVICES

The working of municipal corporations has showed that administrative officers try to accommodate, within reasonable limits, the mayor and other elected representatives because there are times when the officers also stand in need of favours. It is the process of mutual accommodation, understanding and convenience. Cases of corrupt practices and where undue pressure has been brought to bear come to light only when such mutual bargains are not possible or where either party is dissatisfied and the official gets interested in divulging the secret deal.

MAYOR AND DEPUTY MAYOR

The difference in terms of office and functions of mayor and deputy mayor also lead to a conflict between them. The mayor is elected for a year and the deputy mayor holds office for five years. The deputy mayor presides over the two most important policy making bodies of the corporation, the executive committee and the development committee.[20] The mayor, who merely conducts meetings of the corporation is inclined to think that the deputy mayor has more influence and power.[21] This conflict has underlined the working of all the KAVAL towns in varying degrees.[22] In some cases this

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[18] Section 463 – 'Penalty on Member or a *Nagar-Pramukh*, acquiring interest in contract etc.': *The U.P. Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959.

[19] Order No. 40 (i): *Government Gazette of U.P.* – 22nd December, 1962.

[20] Sections 5(1) (*a*) and 54(1): *The U.P. Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959.

[21] The position of a deputy-mayor was strongly criticised in the State Legislature. It was generally felt that a deputy-mayor should not be given so much power: *U.P. Legislature Council Proceedings:* speeches by: (1) Mr. Banchi Dhar Shukla, (2) Mr. Madan Mohan – December, 1, 1958.

[22] (i) The Kanpur Corporation on May 30, 1960, passed a resolution censuring its deputy-mayor, for publishing a press statement containing derogatory remarks about the members of the corporation and the mayor. Both the mayor and the deputy-mayor belonged to the Congress party – *Civic Affairs*, June, 1960, p. 112 (Kanpur).

'It is said that the personal conflict between (the mayor and deputy-mayor) began in primary school, when the two boys used to fight each other.' – P. R. Brass – *Factional Politics in an Indian State Congress Party in U.P.*, p. 168 (University of California Press 1965).

(ii) The deputy mayor of Agra resigned on health reasons. His resignation followed the action of the mayor in sanctioning an expenditure of Rs. 2,500/- for a reception to the State Governor. There was a walkout in the *Mahapalika* meeting in protest and the Members regarded the mayor's action unconstitutional. – *Civic Affairs*, September, 1962, p. 82.

(iii) The Executive Committee of the Lucknow Corporation recommended on 19th May, 1960, an increase of the terminal tax on liquor and chewing tobacco. This resolution was moved by the mayor on behalf of the Executive Committee.

The resolution was defeated through the support of the deputy mayor by twenty-nine votes to twenty-seven. – *Civic Affairs*, June, 1962, p. 114.

(iv) Lucknow Corporation's mayor and deputy mayor were involved in a wrangle over the appointments to the new posts in the corporation created by the passing of the 'schedule of posts' by the corporation. In the absence from the city of the mayor, the deputy mayor, who claimed to be the officiating mayor, made the appointments to these posts a day before the return of the mayor to the city. The mayor on his return to the city cancelled all the appointments and issued a fresh order. – *Civic Affairs*, February, 1965, p. 54.

conflict has been further accentuated by the fact that the mayor and the deputy-mayor belonged to rival groups outside the corporation and when elected to it carried on their political rivalry within the corporation. For example 'Kanpur's difficulties do not stem from social or political conflicts within the populace of the city. The failure of local self-government in Kanpur is a direct result of Congress factionalism and of an unworkable bifurcation of legislative and executive functions'.[23]

In such an atmosphere of personal hostility and rivalry the officials become more powerful and make use of these factions for their own ends and advantage.

The long tenure and the chairmanship of the two important committees – executive and development – make the office of the deputy mayor most influential in terms of power. However, a mayor with high personal prestige and backing of a stable party might sometimes be more effective than a deputy mayor. Unfortunately, the history of municipal corporations in U.P. has disproved the theory that prestige is more sought for than power. At least this is true in the case of mayoral office. "In India, it seems it (mayoral office) is a prize to be fought for and won; in the KAVAL towns, it is a much sought after palm in much slime and dust."[24]

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND SERVICES

The executive committee of the corporation formulates policies and exercises certain exclusive powers in the fields of finance, general control and supervision.[25] It consists of twelve persons elected by the corporation out of *Sabhasads* Members and *Vishishtha-Sabhasads* (aldermen).[26]

Its term is coterminous with the corporation, with half of its members retiring every year. The concentration of power in the executive committee makes it a hot-bed of intrigues. The consensus of opinion at the mayors' conference held at Varanasi on March 22, 1963, was that the proposal of the State Government, to abolish the executive and the development committees, be accepted.[27] Probably in recommending this the mayors protected their own self-interest.

The relations between bureaucrats of these corporations and the executive committee have not been very happy. The reduction of powers, particularly in regard to appointments, control and discipline of municipal employees, has led to a feeling of frustration among the members. The realization that they have lost most of their powers – which they had cherished – has created a feeling of bitterness amongst those who were accustomed to wield absolute power of appointments and dismissals in earlier days. The executives are now looked upon with a certain feeling of distrust and suspicion. There are cases where instead of working as partners they function in opposition to each other and to the detriment of the civic administration.[28] The absence of a clear cut

[23] Paul R. Brass – *Ibid;* pp. 194-195.
[24] *The National Herald: Editorial* – 'On KAVAL Mayors' – 29th April, 1965. (Lucknow.)
[25] Section 51(*a*): *The U.P. Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959.
[26] Section 51 – *Ibid.*
[27] *Civic Affairs* – April, 1963, p. 4.
[28] The Lucknow Municipal Corporation on May 23, 1960, authorised the mayor to inquire into the allegation of misbehaviour by the chief executive officer towards a Member and take whatever action he thought proper. *Civic Affairs, June,* 1960 p. 115.

majority makes the problem more acute. The various political parties try to secure most advantageous positions, contracts and other matters for their supporters, benefit accruing to one's relative strength and influence. Usually the majority party in its demands is more aggressive and successful while the minority groups busy themselves in exposures and fault finding. The intra-party strife and rivalries encourage and provide opportunities to officials to play one group against another to their own advantage. The officers have to balance the conflicting demands of these parties and at the same time to conform to the standards of efficient administration. Political parties are in charge of these municipal corporations; therefore, they claim that as they are responsible to the people, they must have effective control over the executive agencies. The members interfere in the administration quite aware of the legal and statutory limitations imposed upon them. If they cannot get their relatives appointed in the corporation or get contracts for themselves directly, they try to do it indirectly by recommending and taking interest for their lieutenants.

There are, however, frequent instances of collaboration between the members and the appointed officials for dubious purposes. The members seek favours for their supporters. They sometimes share the spoils with bureaucrats to the detriment of the general interests of the community. There are bargains and compromises in the selection committee. The strategies of these interest groups in the appointing process consist of narrowing the discretion of appointing officers and restricting the category of eligibles.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

A chief executive officer is appointed in each corporation by the State Government in consultation with the State Public Service Commission.[29] In the exercise of his powers, under the Act, the chief executive officer is subject to the directions of the corporation and the executive committee.[30] He appoints all the junior officers and servants of the corporation except those under the chief auditor.[31] The chief executive officer executes all the contracts for and on behalf of the corporation.[32] The Municipal administration, like any administration, is a great co-operative effort. Its success depends upon the resourcefulness, tact and adaptability of the chief executive officer and a sense of constructive approach with elected representatives. During the debate in the State Legislature the position and powers of the chief executive came under heavy criticism. It was feared that he would dominate the corporation,[33] and since his appointment is made by the State Government he would not feel as much responsibility towards the corporation as he should as its executive officer.[34]

The relationship between elected representatives and the chief executive depends partly upon the personality, behaviour and attitude of the chief

[29] Section 28(i): *The U.P. Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959.
[30] Section 117(5): *Ibid.*
[31] Section 107(2): *Ibid.*
[32] Section 132(i), (2), (2), (5): *Ibid.*
[33] Speech by Shri K. S. Hajela: *U.P. Legislative Council Proceedings:* 2nd December, 1958; Vol. 62, No. 2, p. 234. Also see Mr. Madan Mohan – *Ibid.*
[34] Virendra Swarup: *Ibid.* December, 5, 1958.

executive and partly upon the quality of the elected representatives. It is sometimes said that an executive armed with independent statutory powers, appointed by an authority other than the elected body and virtually irremovable, tends to be irresponsible or unresponsive in his relations with the corporation and the popular needs.[35] Such a position is thought to create an unhealthy barrier between the deliberative and executive wings and thereby sound working. There is also a feeling that this pattern is unsuited to the democratic way of municipal government and that the elected representatives of the people should have a much more decisive voice not merely in the formulation of policies but also in their day to day administration. "Public opinion is now emphatically against any control being exercised by government servants in the administration of local bodies as this has led to unwarranted interference.[36] The U.P. Municipal Corporation's Act, therefore laid emphasis on the separation of functions between the executives and the elected representatives. This provision was welcomed by almost all sections in the State Legislature. The working of the Municipal Act has shown that fears expressed by the elected representatives towards executives being irresponsible and independent have not come true.[37] Rather, the fact is that the mayor and other elected representatives are more interfering and demanding, and bully the officers. The exercise of powers by the chief executive officer is subject to control by the executive committee, comprising elected representatives, and the provision for his removal by a five-eighths majority of the corporation[38] check him from becoming irresponsible and unresponsive. "So far the corporation has had five chief executive officers. At first, some of the chief executive officers tried to override the wishes of the mayors and to defy their directives and function independently but soon – finding that most of the city fathers were singularly responsive to mayoral influence – they also were forced to change their attitude. The futility of cutting off from the influence of the mayoral chair soon dawned upon the chief executive officers and then they became responsive to mayoral wishes."[39] "The root cause of this lawlessness amongst the civic staff is the fact that ever since the inception of the corporation five years ago, most of the chief executive

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[35] (i) A memorandum presented by a deputation of the Kanpur Municipal Corporation to the Chief Minister, U.P., said the act was against the principles of public good. All the powers were vested in the chief executive officer appointed by the government and not responsible to the Corporation. It was suggested that the chief executive officer should be appointed in consultation with the mayor and that he should work under overall supervision of the mayor.

(ii) "On what was almost hostility between the deliberative and executive wings of the corporation, Mr. Kacker said this was mainly created by the provisions of the U.P. Municipal Corporation Act, which rendered the elected representatives including the mayor 'powerless' if the chief executive officer adopted a 'hostile attitude'." – Mr. S. N. Kacker, Mayor, Allahabad Corporation, reported in *Civic Affairs*, June, 1965; p. 458.

[36] Shri V. N. Sharma, Minister for Local Self Government (U.P.: *Proceedings of Legislative Council, U.P.*: 28th November, 1958, Vol. 61, No. 9, p. 535.

[37] Dr. Iswari Prasad: *Ibid.*, 1st December, 1958.

[38] Section 58(3): *The U.P. Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam* 1959.

[39] *The National Herald*, of Lucknow, on 27th December, 1965, strongly criticised mayoral influence at Kanpur in the appointment of an assistant executive officer without awaiting the approval of the State Government as required by law.

officers, who happened to serve the corporation have had to succumb to the mayor in office."[40]

With the introduction of Corporations in KAVAL towns, it was expected that 'democracy' and 'efficiency' which are sometimes assumed not to go together, would be blended at local level. Critics of democracy, who maintain that popular government is best when you can afford it but admit it is a luxury, point to the state of affairs in KAVAL towns as one more example to prove their assertion. There can be no denying the fact that some of these charges have substance. The civic amenities have not kept pace with rising taxation, and there are frequent visible signs of disharmony between the democratic and bureaucratic elements. However, the present analysis does not affect our basic assumption that democracy and efficiency each strengthen the other, and that, separated, they both become weak.

Thus the intricate problem of relationship between the elected representatives and the bureaucrats is more psychological than legal. The search for machinery and means to solve these problems has been constant. We do not, of course, expect final solutions to the problems or even to segments of problems. The solution to one problem sows the seeds of still other problems. The continuous quest for a better life itself creates fresh problems. A happy relationship between these two sides would determine the success of corporations in KAVAL towns. Therefore, the need is for:

(i) a clear definition and understanding of their respective roles;
(ii) giving of right advice by the public servants without fear or favour;
(iii) non-interference with the exercise of the power vested in the public servant by law except through the process of law, i.e. appeals, revision, etc.;
(iv) effective remedial measures to be taken as conflict or frictions are noticed;
(v) the power of the individual to be limited: power should be vested in the general body of the corporation;
(vi) methods to be devised to inculcate greater respect for representative institutions among the administrative staff, and;
(vii) steps to be taken to ensure that the elected element becomes more efficiency–oriented and less inclined to sacrifie efficiency for political reasons.

[40] *The National Herald: Daily*, 22nd December, 1965. (Lucknow).

Local Government in Turkey

By DR. VAKUR VERSAN

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THE political and administrative institutions of Turkey from the beginning of the formation of the Ottoman Empire until today evolved through three radically different phases:

(i) Islamic law is the whole law governing political and administrative institutions of the State.
(ii) Coexistence of Islamic law with European laws and governmental institutions beginning with the Charter of Liberties of 1839.
(iii) Secular law is the whole law, after the proclamation of the republic in 1923.

When the Turks adopted the Moslem religion they also accepted Islamic law, and the Ottoman Empire not only applied it from the first day on which it was constituted but contributed to its perfection.

The political and governmental institutions of this period resemble those of the Moslem states which preceded the Ottoman Empire. They functioned very efficiently during the rising period of the Empire and were a factor of equilibrium in the governmental and political life of the State.

Whereas European laws and institutions had no influence on Turkish political and cultural life during the period of the domination of Islamic law, in the subsequent period, beginning with the *Tanzimat* Charter of Liberties in 1839, their influence manifested itself with growing intensity. The necessity for reforms in Turkey was felt after military defeats. It was only when the Turkish armies, once the winners of many victories began to sustain serious reverses that the ground was prepared for the declaration of the Charter of Liberties (1839), the proclamation of a constitution (1876) and its repromulgation (1809). But timidly conceived and poorly executed, these reforms did little to change the fate of the Empire.

Nevertheless, the important characteristic of this second period is that it created a duality in legal, governmental, social and educational institutions. Side by side with Islamic law and with the institutions connected with it, appeared and developed certain governmental and social institutions based on the European model.

The foundation of a republican regime in 1923 brought an end to the Ottoman monarchy. The first consequence of this modification was the secularization of the law and the abrogation of the requirement that it conform with Islamic law. With the separation of the State from the church, the European laws and institutions constituted the unique basis for the new system.

The starting point for the explanation of the Turkish government is the Turkish constitution. The basis for the Turkish administrative system is found in article 112 which states that the organization and functions of the Turkish administration are based on the principles of centralization and decentralization.

Therefore, the Turkish system of territorial distribution of administrative functions necessitates the existence of two separate sets of authorities, one for the central administration and the other for the local administrative work.

As units for central administration Turkey is divided on the basis of geographic conditions and economic relations into *vilayets* (provinces). Each province is in turn divided and subdivided into *Kazas* (counties), *bucaks* (districts) and *koys* (villages). Today in Turkey there are 67 provinces, over 500 *kasas*, 1000 *bucaks* and 32 thousand villages.

Every *vilayet* or province is an administrative region for many matters of central concern and is at the same time a municipal corporation with its own affairs. In other words in Turkey at the level of the province there is a distinction made between the provincial government as the extension of the national government and also as a local self-governing unit.

As an organ of central government in each of these provinces is placed an officer called the *Vali* or governor. The governor is the chief administrative officer in the province.

Appointed by the President of the Republic, after the nomination of the Minister of the Interior and on the decision of the council of ministers, he is the representative of the central government. As a central officer he is the subordinate of all the ministers of the national government. He is to see that all the laws and decrees and central instructions sent out by the ministers, are put into operation.

He appoints and dismisses a very large number of officers employed in the administrative services of the central government in the province. He also represents the central government in the courts whenever it sues or is sued. Finally as an agent of the central government he has the power of deconcentration and thus exercises a large control over the local administration of the municipal corporations within the province.

In the second place the governor is a local officer. He is the executive officer of the local administration of the province. He appoints the officers of the local administration. He is in charge of the financial administration of the province, issuing all orders of payment on the provincial treasury. He directs the execution of all provincial public works. He draws up the budget or estimate of the expenses and receipts and represents the province before the courts. As executive organ of the provincial municipal corporation the governor executes the decisions and resolutions of the general council which finally determines how the affairs of the province shall be managed.

By the side of the governor as an organ of the central government is placed a committee. This committee, chaired by the governor, is at the same time an administrative organ and an administrative court. It is composed of the major administrative officers of the province, such as the finance officer, director of legal affairs, education, public works, health, agriculture and veterinary services. As an administrative body, it may advise the governor and at the same time it may make some administrative decisions. This administrative committee also serves as an administrative court which hears appeals from all decisions of provincial and village officials. It is in this capacity subordinate to the council of state, which is the highest administrative tribunal in the country.

As it is stated above in Turkey at the level of the *vilayet* there is a distinction

made between the *vilayet* government as the extension of the national government and also as a local self-governing unit.

It is the existence of the legislative assembly, the establishment of the corporate body assigned specific duties and responsibilities which characterizes the local self-government aspect of the provincial administration. Turkish law makes its distinction between provincial and local self-government on the basis whether such a legislative assembly exists, whether it has its own budget, its own property and its own corporate body assigned specific duties and responsibilities.

The legislative assembly of the province is called *Vilayet Genel Meclisi*. Its members are elected for four year terms from each *kaza*, the number of members depending upon the population of the district. The provincial council is in session for forty days a year under ordinary circumstances. It may, however, terminate its session before that time or it may be extended for a maximum period of two weeks by the governor. It may also be called into special session by a decision of, either the national government or of the governor, or by the provincial assembly itself upon the request of two-thirds of its members, which is passed on to the Ministry of the Interior by the governor, who may render an opinion upon it. The final decision, however, rests with the ministry.

The provincial assembly is presided over by the governor and its decisions are subject to approval or disapproval by the national government. If its decisions are disapproved by the governor representing the national government, the final decision rests with the council of state, which is an administrative court for all such disputes.

The provincial assembly has a responsibility over the local self-government budget. The provincial budget is prepared by the governor and after being examined by the executive committee of the province, it is submitted to the provincial assembly for approval. The provincial budgets are finally subject to the approval of the council of ministers and the President of the Republic.

In every province as an organ of provincial corporation there is a body called the *vilayet daimi encümeni* (provincial committee). It is chaired by the governor and consists of four members who are elected for a one-year term from different areas where possible by the assembly from among its members. It is in operation during the entire year acting for the assembly when it is not in session. It advises the governor on the budget before it is submitted to the assembly and all major questions on which the governor wishes assistance. It audits and approves monthly expense accounts submitted to it by the governor and prepares an annual report on the previous year's work of the provincial administration.

In the hierarchy of national territorial administration next comes the *Kaza*, which is the subdivision of the *Vilayet*. It is not an incorporated body and has no elected assembly. It is headed, however, by a *Kaymakam* (Sub-Governor) who has many of the same responsibilities for the *Kaza* which the Governor has for the province.

The *Kaymakam*, who is directly under the control of the Governor, is nominated by the Minister of the Interior, appointed by the Prime Minister and approved by the President of the Republic. Contrary to the Governor's political status, the *Kaymakam* is purely a carrier official.

As the central government's representative in the district and head of the district administration, he supervises the administrative agencies in *Kaza* which largely duplicate those of the provincial administration.

The *Kaymakam*, therefore, is the chief administrative officer in the county. He reports to the Governor and assists him in his area. He is the link between the Governor and the smaller units of the administrative system.

To assist the *Kaymakam* in his administration of the *Kaza* there exists an administrative committee called the *kaza idare heyeti*, which is similar to the administrative committee in the province. Its members are the *Kaymakam*, his clerical assistant, the finance officer, the government doctor, and the heads of education, agriculture and veterinary services. The major function of the committee is to advise to *Kaymakam* on his problems and decisions. It also hears appeals from the decisions of the heads of subordinate administrative units.

The *Bulak* is the smallest national territorial unit in the Turkish administration. Those areas which have a common geography, economic interests and local problems may be organized into an administrative division called the *Bucak*.

The organs of the *Bucak* are the *Bucak Meclisi* (Council), *Bucak Encümeni* (Committee) and the *Bucak Müdürü* (Chief Administrative Officer).

The council is composed of both administrative officers ex-officio, and of representatives from the villages and municipalities. It is composed of *Bucak Müdürü*, the health officer, veterinarian, agricultural technician, the chief teacher, one elected representative from each village executive committee and one elected representative from each municipal council. The elected representatives serve for four-year terms and represent their areas in the council.

The council is a sort of local self-governing body of the *Bucak* administration. It meets once a year, presided over by the *Bucak Müdürü*. At times the *Kaymakam* may preside.

The *Meclis* (Council) elects a *Bucak Encümeni* which is composed of four members. The *Müdür* presides over its monthly meetings. It acts as an advisory body to the *Müdür* and also for the *Maclis* which meets once a year.

The *Bucak Müdürü* is the chief administrative officer of the *Bucak*. He is assigned by the Minister of the Interior, on the recommendation of his Council of Directors, to a particular province. He is then appointed to a *Bucak* by the Governor. He is responsible to the*Kaymakam* and through him to the Governor.

As the official representative of the national administration in the *Bucak* he supervises, inspects and reports on the local agencies of the national government.

According to the Turkish administrative system there is distinction between the provincial administration and the local administration.

The provincial administration is considered as the extension of the national government in the administrative regions. Whereas the local self-government is applied to towns and villages. These self-governing units are considered as corporate personalities, electing their own administrative organs and having separate budgets and properties.

The units of the local government in Turkey are the *Köys* and the *Belediyes* (municipalities).

Villages in Turkey are the product of a mutual desire for people to live close to each other. Turkish villagers, like people everywhere, have always felt the need for some sort of administrative machinery, which even though necessarily small scale, would nevertheless be independent of national administration. Therefore, ever since ancient times the more prominent members of each village community have been in the habit of meeting regularly in some central and convenient spot, usually the village mosque, to discuss the village affairs and to elect or appoint the elders, the leaders in public worship called the *imam*, the nightwatchmen, gamekeepers, and so on. Such people were generally paid in kind, with grain and similar agricultural products contributed by every villager.

Decisions concerning matters of common interest, such as communally-owned land, road building or the digging of the village wells, have always been made by the Elders. Expenses were paid from village funds or property.

Turkish villages have always been organized on a democratic basis, for each village was governed by the organs elected by the villagers themselves.

Although the villages in Turkey have existed for many years as separate economic and social units, it was in 1924, only one year after the proclamation of the Republic that the Turkish Grand National Assembly passed the Village Law which gave Turkish village administration its present legal aspect and defined the functions and powers of each section of the machinery.

The body that wields the greatest authority in a village is the *Köy Derneği* (village assembly), composed of every man and woman over the age of eighteen who has been living there for six months or more. Or to put it in a different way, every villager still in possession of his or her civil and political rights is automatically a member. This ensures that each adult shall be entitled to express an opinion on every matter that concerns the community.

But the village assembly is not always in session, for it meets only from time to time to elect a *Muhtar* (Headman), the members of the council of elders, or to take some important decisions. Therefore it is the *Köy İhtiyar Meclisi* (village council of elders) which makes the decisions for the village corporation.

The membership of the council of elders depends on the population of the village. All villages with a population under a thousand have an eight-member council. All villages with a population over a thousand have a council of twelve members. The council of elders is presided over by the *Muhtar* of the village.

The Village Law contains two lists of requirements for each village, one obligatory and the other optional. It is the council of elders that decides which jobs of common importance shall be tackled and in what order and on how large a scale. The council of elders buys land for schools, provides land for landless peasants, decides how much each person is to contribute to meet village expenditure, and is also empowered to sit in judgment on cases of non-payment of debts where the sum involved does not exceed ten Turkish *liras* (about ten shillings). Those who fail to fulfil their share of communal tasks and obligations may be defined by decision of the council of elders.

The chief executive officer in the village is the *Muhtar*, who is elected by the village assembly for a term of two years. The *Muhtar* is also the representative of the national government in the village. Therefore he has a dual responsibility, one for the national government and one for the village administration.

According to the Village Law the responsibilities of the *Muhtar* for the national government require him to announce the laws and instructions issued by the State, maintain security and order, keep record of births, marriages and deaths, recruit men for the army, notify the authorities of suspected people.

On the other hand his responsibilities for the village require him to represent the village in the courts and on other occasions, to carry out the decisions of the Council, collect taxes and pay expenses, make monthly reports to the Council, guide the village in all its various activities.

There are two major sources of revenue for the village government, the *Imece*, compulsory service required of the peasants for public work, and *Salma*, a distribution tax assessed on each person with property in the village.

The *Salma* is fixed by law at a twenty Turkish *liras* (a little less than a pound sterling) maximum, for the wealthiest person, decreasing progressively in its application to other persons. Other sources of revenue are the fines, the rental revenue of property belonging to the village, taxes and fees, donations and loans.

The control over expenditures is vested in the council of elders. It decides on the nature of the compulsory service, who is to serve from each family, what projects to be undertaken and in what order they are to be undertaken.

After the *Köys* (villages) which is the smallest community from the administrative point of view, there are *Belediyes* (municipalities) in Turkey. Here too the administrative machinery is based on the principle of decentralization.

In Turkey, as is the case in many other countries, the establishment and proper functioning of municipalities is not optional, but obligatory in all communities with a population of more than two thousand.

In the days of the Ottoman Empire there were no municipal governments in Turkey. Thus part of the municipal functions such as we know them today were undertaken by the local *Kadis* (religious and judicial head of a town) or by the *Vakifs* (pious foundations).

The first municipal administration in Turkey was organized in Istanbul, and a country-wide Municipal Law was passed in 1876. The present Municipal Law was passed by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1930.

The municipalities in Turkey are administered by a mayor, a municipal committee and a municipal council.

The term of office of the Municipal Council is four years and its membership is twelve for those municipalities with population up to three thousand, increasing as the size of the municipalty increases. They are elected by the direct vote of the qualified citizens.

The main role of the municipal Council is a financial and budgetary one. Through the budget and its power to approve programmes of work it can make policy for the municipality.

The municipal council has an executive committee which prepares matters for its consideration, and which acts for it when it is not in session. The mayor is the chairman of the executive committee which consists of the heads of the service departments together with members elected by the council to number not more than half the ex-officio ones, nor less than two.

This committee is advisory to the mayor, and also the executive body of the council. Its functions concern the budget, making rules for the main-

tenance of order and government of the municipality, fixing fares and market prices, checking the monthly expense accounts, the imposition of fines for breaking local regulations and making decisions on expropriations.

The chief administrative officer of the municipality is the *Belediye Baskani* (Mayor). He is elected for a term of four years by the qualified citizens living within the municipal boundaries. His function is to represent the municipality, to carry out the decisions of the municipal council and the executive committee.

Thus he enforces the municipal law, rules and regulations, makes contacts with agencies, manages public properties, and has charge of the budget.

The revenues of the municipalities are indicated in the Municipalities Income Act of 1948. The major sources of revenue may be classified as local shares of national taxes, direct municipal taxes, income from municipality-owned utilities, rented or sold properties, licence fees on private business, fines and sundry miscellaneous items.

In conclusion it may be said that the Turkish system of local administration is the outcome of the historical, social, political and economic conditions of the country.

At present there is a tendency in Turkey to make some changes in the laws governing the local administrative machinery, but its objective is not to reorganize the system but rather to secure legal means to provide more financial resources for the units of local administration.

The Establishment of the Fijian Administration: Part I Sir Lala Sukuna

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IT is not uncommon for British colonial Governors to admire and respect a traditional warrior leader of the people they rule; one thinks, for example, of Lugard and the Bariba chief Kiama.[1] It is less common to find such admiration for the educated native (especially one not of a chiefly or warrior caste) who has separated himself from traditional, primitive, virtue without (if only by reason of his colour) becoming a European; there is indeed a vocabulary and a literature to express the distaste Professor Arthur Lewis once mentioned to a group of colonial service officers when he told them: 'I am the kind of native you dislike most: the educated one.' But occasionally traditional virtues and educated sensibility combine, especially in 'brown' rather than 'black' colonies, to earn British respect and so to achieve a dominance in colonial politics. Such was the case with Joseva Lalabalavu Vanaaliali Sukuna, the principal architect and the most eloquent advocate of the Fijian Administration which was set up in 1945.

Sukuna was a high, although not the highest, ranking Fijian. In a society which traced descent and status through males, he was the grandson of Adi Asenaca, second daughter by his first legitimate union, of Cakobau, styled 'King' of Fiji, who ceded the islands to the British government in 1874.[2] Born in 1888, Sukuna was the first Fijian of high rank to be educated in the way empire-builders like Sir George Grey urged upon the ranking families of Polynesia;[3] he was sent to school in New Zealand and then went up to Wadham College, Oxford. Sukuna graduated after service in France with the Foreign Legion during the First World War (in which he won the Medaille Militaire) and was in 1921 called to the Bar at the Middle Temple. Returning to Fiji, he entered upon a career as an administrative officer of the colonial service, becoming by 1943 adviser on native affairs. Apart from the charm and force of his personality, Sukuna was a chiefly Fijian who had distinguished himself as a warrior in modern war and who was a highly educated man by European standards. The dominance he achieved in colonial politics became evident in 1943.

On 16 July of that year the governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, wrote a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies which urged the creation of the

[1] M. Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Authority* (London, 1960), p. 213.

[2] I am indebted to the late R. A. Derrick, Esq., Curator of the Suva Museum, who drew my attention to a genealogy of the Cakobau family among some of his private papers. The document was undated but a reference to Sukuna's brother, Ratu Dovi, as 'at school in New Zealand' puts it back to the first decade of this century; its provenance is probably missionary.

[3] A. Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1964), p. 45.

of the Fijian administration.[4] Mitchell was a fortunate appointment from Sukuna's point of view, for he had been brought up in the school of Sir Donald Cameron and the neo-indirect rule philosophy of Tanganyika.[5] His experience and outlook matched the tradition which Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Arthur Gordon had originally established in Fiji but which, in Sukuna's view, had been abandoned in the more recent history of the colony. In 1943 Mitchell, with Sukuna behind him, was arguing for a return to this earlier Fijian government. To the Colonial Office, Mitchell put the case, starting from the premise that radical changes were to be avoided, that it was urgent to broaden the base of native support and collaboration and to give reality to native responsibility for native affairs. The chief reasons for taking this step were efficiency and cost. At present, said Mitchell, the Native Office under Sukuna was outside the secretariat. In the districts, European district commissioners were the heads of native administration and in some cases district officers were posted to outer stations and given authority over native chiefs; this, he asserted, caused irritation. Within this district organisation, some provinces, the old traditional divisions of Fiji recognised by Robinson and Gordon for administrative purposes, were in charge of a *roko*, a Fijian provincial governor, while some, for reasons of economy, were under the district commissioner. All of this was confusing and it was, moreover, expensive. On the figures Mitchell offered to the Colonial Office, there was an average deficit in the native administration of £5,000 and the colonial government was expending another £9,500 each year.

Mitchell proposed to eliminate inefficiency, irritation, confusion and financial loss by setting up the Fijian administration which, subject to the colonial government's obligation of efficiency and non-corruption, would create a single native authority with a single accounting system.[6] This would be based upon the existing five Fijian nominated members of the Legislative Council. These men were proposed by the council of chiefs and nominated by the governor; they would constitute the Fijian Affairs Board which would control the Fijian administration while linking it both to the government of the colony through the Legislative Council, and to the Fijian council of chiefs. The chairman of the Fijian Affairs Board, the Secretary for Fijian Affairs, an official appointed by the governor, would be a member of the Executive Council who could address himself to the governor through the Colonial Secretary. To the Board as a self-accounting body would be committed control of the finances of Fijian local government and all appointments of Fijian officials except the *roko*, the provincial governors, who would be appointed by the governor himself. To the Board all legislation affecting the Fijian people would be referred before discussion in the Legislative Council. European officers in the districts were to become representatives of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs, with the duty of inspection but with no power to give orders. Mitchell concluded his case for this reorganisation by stating that the proposals had been discussed with the district commissioners and

[4] Legislative Council of Fiji, Council Paper No. 24 of 1943. (Hereafter, these papers will be cited as C.P. followed by their number and date.)

[5] See his autobiography, P. Mitchell, *Some African Afterthoughts* (London, 1954), p. 125.

[6] For a detailed description of the system and its working, F. J. West, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 24-66.

with leading residents as well as in the Executive Council, and there was unanimous support for such a Fijian administration. To the all-important office of Secretary for Fijian Affairs, he added, he proposed to appoint Sukuna from 1st August, 1943, since it was important to establish the administration before the Fijian servicemen returned from the war. Mitchell's arguments were accepted by the Colonial Office with the proviso that there should be a more frequent and stringent financial inspection of its operation,[7] and after debate in the Legislative Council of Fiji in 1944, the Fijian administration was set up by Ordinance on 1st January, 1945.[8]

The arguments which were put to the Colonial Office were, however, only part of Sukuna's case for the Fijian administration. Although he spoke with different emphases to different sorts and conditions of men, Sukuna was less concerned with efficiency and cost than he was with the preservation of Fijian society. In the discussions of 1944, he began by quoting Mitchell's old chief, Sir Donald Cameron:[9]

> "The great principles to be followed throughout are those of building on the existing organisation and ideas of the people, of leaving it to the people themselves, assisted by sympathetic advice, to devise and develop their own institutions and of resisting the temptation to play the part of 'king maker' or constitution maker: many ideal states have been devised by theorists for mankind but the only true political development proceeds from within by evolution."

This final proposition is of course palpable historical nonsense, but it provided Sukuna with a splendid text to support the conclusions he drew from Fijian history under British rule. Looking back over British administration since 1874, Sukuna believed that he saw three periods.[10] Sir Hercules Robinson, he thought, had tried to establish government without departing in any important particular from Fijian customs, traditions and boundaries, a method of government which his successor, Sir Arthur Gordon, had confirmed by his Native Affairs Ordinance of 1876. In this first period, said Sukuna, there were neither districts nor European district officers; Fijians were ruled through their chiefs and native affairs were the main concern of the government. The result was happiness and content. Then came a second period in which there was an alarming decline of the population, which Sukuna ascribed to bad housing and bad sanitation. This decline caused great anxiety and led, thought Sukuna, to more direct government methods to improve social and material development through European officers who possessed greater knowledge than the Fijian chiefs of modern needs. Then, in September, 1913, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, actually questioned whether the existence of a separate department of native affairs was necessary or desirable and a committee appointed to consider the question agreed that its work should be delegated to European stipendiary magistrates and district commissioners who were appointed in 1915. The Fijian provincial governors, the *roko*, representing the older government of Robinson and

[7] C.P. 21/1947, Secretary for Fijian Affairs, Speech to the Council of Chiefs, Dec. 1946, p. 4, cap. 7.

[8] *Laws of Fiji* (Suva, 1955), ii, cap. 100.

[9] Cameron, *The Principles of Native Administration and their Application* (Lagos, 1934), p. 33.

[10] Legislative Council of Fiji, *Debates*, 1944, p. 33.

Gordon, protested to the governor in 1915, and then to the Secretary of State in 1924, but to no effect. The policy of this third period, said Sukuna, was to carry on the government through European officers who were appointed to replace the old school of chiefs as one by one they passed away. Sukuna granted the good intentions of the government; at all times its aim was to do the best it could for the Fijians. But it had not succeeded, in his view because of an unchanging Fijian desire to run their own affairs through their traditional leaders and institutions of government based upon them, and also because the corollary of administration by European officers was the training of young Fijians to help, which was neglected. He granted that the old chiefs lacked the knowledge of social welfare possessed by European officers, but claimed that this method of administration was never accepted by the Fijians while the government did not possess the resources to make a success of this direct method. In 1943 Sukuna therefore wished to go back to the old system, to re-establish indirect rule; but with a difference.

As a chief of high rank (he had the title *Tui Lau*), Sukuna was a thoroughgoing conservative. When he looked at Fijian society, he saw one still essentially patriarchal, still ruled by chiefs who exercised authority over their people with whom they had ties of kinship. It was a society, said Sukuna, held together by common faith, common interests and common descent in which chiefs ruled by the qualities of shrewdness, tact and forbearance, and the people showed loyalty, reverence and obedience.[11] Life was still lived in the eighteen hundred villages of Fiji, still primarily agricultural, still controlled by communal obligations and customs and still to a large extent self-sufficing. In essentials, maintained Sukuna, Fijian life was much the same as it was at the turn of the century; and at heart, one suspects, this is what he would have liked to preserve. But Sukuna was far too intelligent a man not to perceive the fact and the potentiality of change. He saw that it was already happening as the Fijians, in his own words, were 'beginning to emerge in their outlook from the feudal age,[12] especially with the impending return in 1945 of the Fijian soldiers who during the war had experienced a wider world.[13] And he saw it most obviously in the external circumstances of Fijian society. By 1945, the Indian settlers were beginning to approach equality of numbers with the Fijians[14] and the prospect of their becoming a majority was getting very close, while their economic place in the colony's life was becoming increasingly dominant[15] and they were acquiring European skills and techniques. Against the immediate possibility of the disruption or dislocation of Fijian society by returning soldiers and the more distant threat that one day the colony might be *de facto* an Indian one, Sukuna justified the Fijian administration. But he was not merely a conservative seeking to preserve an old order within a separate system of government; he was not simply a reactionary who wanted to preserve the *status quo*. Conservatives

[11] C.P. 5/1952, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs, 1950, p. 1, cap. 2.

[12] Legislative Council of Fiji, *Debates*, 1944, p. 36.

[13] C.P. 27/1949, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs 1948, p. 1, cap. 1.

[14] For the figures and projections of Fijian and Indian birthrates see N. MacArthur. *Report on the Census of the Population*, 1956, C.P. 1/1958.

[15] See C. O'Loughlin, *The Pattern of the Fiji Economy: The National Income* 1950-53, C.P. 44/1956.

are not people who have too little imagination; they are people who have too much. They see the possibilities of catastrophe and disaster all too clearly and imminently, and if they are intelligent, like Sukuna, they seek to avert it. The significant point about the establishment of the Fijian administration is not that it was a step backwards to a concept of colonial rule which treated native administration as a special, separate and somewhat esoteric aspect of government which must be isolated from ordinary government, but that it was intended to be an isolated system of administration for the express purpost of bringing the Fijians on to terms of social, economic and political equality with Indians and Europeans while yet preserving the traditional pattern of authority in order to achieve this transformation.

It was this aspect of development Sukuna stressed to his European audience. In 1944 he explained the end at which the Fijian administration aimed as the development of the 'social, economic and political outlook of the Fijians through institutions well recognized and having their roots in the people in order to fit them progressively and surely to play an ever increasing part in the development of the country'.[16] At the administrative officers' conference in 1944 he secured agreement to three cardinal points. One, that Fiji being primarily an agricultural country, it was imperative to maintain the closest possible connection between the individual and the land. Two, that it was important to discourage any tendency towards the disintegration of Fijian society. Three, that in order to provide the necessary incentive for the continuation of village life, it was necessary to improve the basic material conditions in the villages by better housing and social services.[17] To pay for these improvements it was necessary to assure the Fijians of a place in the economic structure of the colony by formulating a policy for developing land use and markets for what was grown. In the Legislative Council in 1944 Sukuna added that Fijian men must be freed from incessant housebuilding in the villages by the introduction of improved building materials in order that they might devote themselves to growing cash crops, that the standard of education must be raised by establishing a secondary school with European masters to teach academic subjects as well as applied agriculture. And he also looked to the institutions of the Fijian administration to provide at the same time a training for chiefs and people in orderly, sound and progressive local government, the better to fit them for the give and take of democratic institutions.[18]

Stressing this development aspect to his European audience, Sukuna asserted that the success of the Fijian administration depended upon five things.[19] Firstly, the need to form larger political and social organisations, for the kinship group was too small a base in itself to achieve the development he had in mind. Secondly, the need for an external exchange economy to provide outlets for Fijian produce. Thirdly, the need for internal and external markets. Fourthly, the actual increase in the quantity of cash crops grown by the Fijians. Fifthly, education of a type suited to the Fijian environment. These needs were obvious enough and their realisation depended upon

[16] Legislative Council of Fiji, Debates, 1944, p. 33.

[17] Memorandum to Administrative Officers' Conference, 1944.

[18] Legislative Council of Fiji, *Debates*, 1944, p. 36.

[19] C.P. 18/1948, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs 1946, p. 1, Introductory.

technical resources in men and materials, but as Sukuna was well aware, technicalities were not the main problem. In analysing to Europeans the conditions for the success of the Fijian administration Sukuna was preaching to the converted; his proposals, he recognised, would arouse the opposition of traditional authorities, the Fijian chiefs, and clash with Fijian customary life.[20] But he thought he had no choice. He believed that the Fijian position was very weak in the face of economic and political pressures, and that bold measures were needed to prevent its being overrun.[21] The real key to the success of his Fijian administration was to convince the traditional leaders of Fiji; and Sukuna recognised his dilemma. By building the organisation round the chiefs, he was trying to enlist the authority which might have frustrated its whole purpose. By 'institutionalising' the traditional authority he was incorporating within a system intended to promote change a vested interest in it. Sukuna may have deceived himself in part by projecting his own abilities, energy and foresight into each member of his own chiefly class,[22] but he had no doubt that the crux of his problem was the attitude and education of the Fijian chiefs.

To his fellow chiefs in 1944, he said:[23]

> "We need clearly to understand and always to be conscious of the fact that we can only be sure of our people continuing to follow us provided they appreciate that our authority is better than that of anyone else, that as a result of our forethought and energy they prosper – that is, when we cease to rely on status to see us through and when we prove once more that we possess both the qualifications and the authority to rise to the occasion such as our ancestors possessed. If we confine ourselves to pleasure-seeking only, no useful purpose will be served in maintaining our claim to chiefly status. If we are merely decorative our position is finished forever."

So might Bismarck have talked to the Prussian Junkers, or any intelligent conservative to members of his own class whose old world was crumbling but who had not entered a new world surrounding them. But Sukuna had to exhort his fellow chiefs in the belief that by doing so he was exhorting the whole Fijian people. He believed that the chiefs in 1944 were representative, that the mutual and reciprocal relationship between them and their people still existed. As he told the administrative officers' conference in 1944:[24]

> "There is a tendency to regard these authorities, both chiefs and officials, as a class apart whose interests differ from those of the commoners. The view does not bear examination. . . . It is true that a chief has style and dignity and the right of levy and tribute; but moderation and reciprocity are necessary attributes where power and income depend so much on good will."

In other words, the chiefs still had authority but its strength and effectiveness depended upon their being in harmony with the general sentiment of their people. But Sukuna also believed that a dynamic, educated chief could lead his people to want what he wanted, that if every chief were a Sukuna the

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] See O.H.K. Spate, *The Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects* (C.P. 13/1959), p. 7.

[23] C.P. 10/1945, Address to the Council of Chiefs 1944.

[24] Quoted by Spate, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Fijian administration could succeed in its purpose. He was aware, of course, that not every chief was a Sukuna, for which in part he blamed the period of direct rule in the immediate past. Parochialism, he said, in the guise of democracy, was encouraged from the early years of the present century with the result that 'narrow tribalism' soon reappeared and became 'deeply entrenched'.[25] In 1944 he was conscious that the forces of reaction led by some of the chiefs made his path hard,[26] that where he could carry the Legislative Council unanimously and secure the support of the administrative officers' conference, among the Fijians his active support rested on a thinly-spread trained leadership and upon constant exhortation by speeches and by example to the great majority of chiefs.

Sukuna did his best to carry the Fijian chiefs with him. He pressed overseas education upon some after the fashion of his own career[27] – he even, although not with such enthusiasm, encouraged a few commoners[28] – and through the institutions of the Fijian administration he tried to draw in others to acquire awareness of modern social, economic and administrative attitudes by their involvement in the actual work of Fijian government. How the Fijian administration organisation worked – or failed to work – is no part of this paper,[29] but Sukuna's appreciation of his difficulties is relevant to the theory and practice of indirect rule.

The most immediate of these difficulties came from the 'parochialism' to which he referred. In the context in which he perceived it, this arose from the attempt (one of his conditions for the success of the Fijian administration) to form larger social units commanding greater resources for the development he had in mind. Sukuna proposed to reduce the number of provinces from nineteen to fourteen and the number of districts (*tikina*) from one hundred and eighty-six to seventy-four.[30] He proposed to do this on the basis of kinship ties and affinities and of proximity,[31] but he was aware that kinship did not preclude rivalry or hostility and the discussions on the amalgamation of provinces and districts, culminating with the council of chiefs' resolution of 1944 to amalgamate these areas, occupied the preceding two years.[32]

These discussions, admitted Sukuna, were not smooth, but eventually under Sukuna's exhortation and pressure from those chiefs who held office as *roko*

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[25] C.P. 18/1948, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs 1946, p. 6, cap. 31.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] For example, upon Ratu Mara, now himself Secretary for Fijian Affairs, whose medical course in New Zealand was interrupted by his transfer to Oxford; and Ratu Edward Cakobau who was sent to Oxford upon the colonial officers course. Sukuna's brother, Ratu Dovi, went to medical school in Dunedin.

[28] For example, Rusiate Nayacakalou, who graduated in Auckland, took his Ph.D. in London and then returned to Fiji to enter the administration; he has recently resigned to join the Department of Anthropology in Sydney University; J. Kamemeca who took a commerce degree in Australia and returned to administer the co-operative movement; Filips Bole who took an arts degree in Wellington. Two older Fijian commoners educated overseas were Ravuama Vunivalu and Semesa Sikivou. But this list, like that of the chiefs, is short. In 1745 seven Fijians were being educated overseas; C.P. 4/1947, p. 10, cap. 80.

[29] See Vest, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-64.

[30] C.P. 4/1947, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs 1945, p. 2, cap. 6; p. 4, cap. 22.

[31] C.P. 18/1948, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs 1946, p. 6, cap. 30.

[32] *Ibid.*

amd *buli*, provincial and district amalgamation was carried through. Sukuna thought that this was a triumph of good sense over inherited sectional feeling, and also a triumph of personal sacrifice on the part of some chiefs holding office, for the reduction in the number of provinces and districts meant that some of them would lose their official status and privileges.[33] The choice Sukuna put to the chiefs was precisely this: to retain their ancient rights and privileges unimpaired or to merge some of these rights in larger political and social combinations upon which a Fijian political and economic structure could be built.[34] He was pleased with their decision in 1944 but he was not altogether sure that the amalgamation would be successful. By drastically reducing the number of *tikina*, the salary of the *buli* could be greatly increased, but how successful these new appointees would be depended upon the acquiescence of those chiefs within the new districts who were not or who were no longer office holders.[35] It depended too upon the preparedness of the chiefs of the old *tikina* now included in the larger new districts to co-operate with perhaps traditional rivals. The Fijian Administration thus offered the occasion and the excuse upon which traditional antagonisms could fasten, but it was a risk which Sukuna, given his attitude and approach, had to run. He hoped that the provincial and district governors, who were in general appointed from the ranks of the leading chiefs, would be able by traditional status and official position, buttressed by the penal sanctions of the Fijian Regulations enforced by the Fijian magistrates, to make the system work.

The provincial and district amalgamations were pushed through; the eighteen hundred villages were a different proposition. Sukuna had used a somewhat different emphasis in his argument to the council of chiefs in explaining the need for village amalgamation. Where he had said that larger provinces and districts would enable a better class of official to be appointed with better conditions, the amalgamation of small scattered village communities and the concentration of people in larger centres on better sites would make for more efficient social services and for a brighter community life which would render the village, the vital working unit of Fijian society, attractive to the young people, whose energies were needed to further economic development.[36] Sukuna recognised the much more considerable difficulties village amalgamation entailed. He recognised that the unpaid village chief, the *turaga-ni-koro*, could never be offered the salary and the conditions which would attract an able and ambitious man, that the village chief was caught between his family obligations, the attitude of other family heads within a village and the demands of the officials above him, in return for little dignity and small reward.[37] Few *turaga-ni-koro* stayed long in office and many of them left discontented. But quite apart from this difficulty, Sukuna diagnosed in the villages a background of what he called 'pagan fear':[38] fear for ancestral sites and burial grounds, fear of losing their land,

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 6, cap. 31.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 1, Introductory.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 1, cap. 2.

[36] C.P. 4/1947, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs 1945, p. 4, cap. 24.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] C.P. 27/1949, Annual Report of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs 1948, p. 2, cap. 6.

fear or suspicion of other family groups and villages. This background proved too much for him. Although a start was made in one or two places, village amalgamation quietly disappeared from the programme of the Fijian administration.

Sukuna interpreted the immediate difficulties he faced in terms of the survival of old tribal attitudes, and more remotely he recognised the dilemma of any system of indirect rule: that the traditional authority or 'legitimacy' it incorporates may disappear with social and economic change, leaving the government therefore at a distance from the governed, that the price of avoiding this gap between government and governed was to slow down social and economic change so that traditional authority might gradually adjust to it. Sukuna belonged to what has been called the 'progressive 'school of indirect rule[39] in that he did not expect the modern attitudes he thought necessary to occur without active government encouragement, but he accepted and welcomed the fact that such change would be gradual. Even though he recognised the urgency of Fijian development, he thought the preservation and adaptation of the chiefly system essential to its soundness.

The difficulties he encountered raise, however, three other and perhaps more fundamental questions about indirect rule. The first is the rigidity which official recognition of chiefly authority imparts. Sukuna knew that the chief, in pre-cession days, was not absolute, that he was in some sense representative of his people and not simply an autocrat who gave orders and wielded sanctions.[40] He knew that the chiefs had had councils of elders to advise them, and he tried, although not very successfully, to provide for this element of consent in the district and provincial councils of the Fijian administration.[41] The root of the trouble was that, whether or not a chief held an official post, his power and prestige had been detached from the public opinion of his people; he no longer needed to respond to their feeling in the way he had when, before cession, a bad or inefficient chief could be eliminated by direct action. The mere fact of annexation, of the imposition of government control and the establishment of law and order altered the basis of chiefly authority. It added to traditional sanctions the independent sanctions of – in this case – the Fijian Regulations.[42] In doing so, the authority of a chief was not simply 'traditional', and being so altered, any administration which incorporated chiefly authority was itself to some degree alien to Fijian society. 'Traditional society' was in one sense an invention of colonial authority.

The second difficulty follows from this, for if chiefly authority now included this untraditional element, what becomes of the justification that indirect rule incorporates the 'legitimacy' of traditional authority? Sukuna assumed,

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[39] R. E. Robinson, 'Why "Indirect Rule" Has Been Replaced by "Local Government" In the Nomenclature of British Native Administration', *Journal of African Administration*, vol. ii, no 3, p. 13.

[40] C.P. 5/1952, p. 1, cap. 2; C.P. 27/1949, p. 3, cap. 9.

[41] West, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-56.

[42] These were revised in 1948, when they provided *inter alia* (Cap. 13), for personal services to chiefs. 'It shall be lawful for the *Roko* or chief . . . and any other chief approved by the Government [to] demand . . . customary obligations' which were then listed. Sukuna, in the debate in the Legislative Council of 22 September, 1948, upon these Regulations, denied that they were 'so many bricks on our backs' whose abolition would set the people free; it was, he asserted, only these Regulations which gave the Fijians the protection they needed; Legislative Council of Fiji, *Debates*, 1948, p. 164.

as do all advocates of indirect rule as a technique of government, that the traditional authority is legitimate, either by customary usage or by the right of conquest which is usually only accepted by the conquered if it allows the belief that it too may be overthrown in turn, i.e. legitimacy of 'means' not of 'ends'. Without discussing the validity of this belief about conquest, it is clear that in Fiji the customary sanctions of the chiefly position were not in themselves enough for the purposes of government; and by adding to their 'legitimacy' the sanctions of an external authority, it became dangerous to take for granted that this new chiefly position was accepted by people other than the chiefs.

The third difficulty comes from a more basic assumption by Sukuna and others who defend indirect rule; the belief that when what they conceive to be traditional and legitimate authority is brought within the apparatus of government, it is a working authority, that it is 'functional' and stable, with in some cases the entailed judgement that is 'best'. Even where a native society, by reason of war and political disorders, is obviously unstable at annexation, as was Fiji, the previous facts of conquest may either be regarded as establishing legitimacy and therefore 'function', or as an aberration from another working system of chiefly authority which can be restored. But in Fiji, conquest, in the sense that a few chiefs had come to dominate the whole island group, was untraditional;[48] there was no precedent for a single, united Fijian society before European firearms provided the technical means to create one. In other words, there was no functioning, stable, unified society under chiefs who could as 'legitimate rulers' be taken into the structure of government; there were family groups and groups of linked families who were cohesive social units which resisted the policy of village amalgamation and there were wider political units, provinces and districts, which were recent phenomena under powerful chiefs, whose re-arrangement for administrative purposes violated no ancient loyalties but rather continued a recent process of political growth and the establishment of chiefly authority. Sukuna was aware of the distinction, although he obscured it by using the word 'chief' to describe both family and clan chiefs and those who had made themselves chiefs of larger political units. In part he was driven to this by administrative necessity, as he saw it, and in part, from his own high chiefly and official position, by his view of an idealised and mythical past. The Fijian administration, being built so largely round Sukuna's personality, was thus not merely an administrative arrangement to safeguard the Fijians while they developed towards the twentieth century, but part of a myth which has grown since cession about Fijian society and the Fijian past.

[48] This becomes plain from the history of Fijian society as related by R. A. Derrick, *History of Fiji* (Suva, 1943); and from the work of social anthropologists who find it difficult to disentangle Melanesian elements from an imported Polynesian system of rank, W. E. H. Stanner, *The South Seas in Transition* (Sydney, 1953), pp. 172-8.

Evaluation of Local Government Courses in relation to careers of staff trained at Zaria, 1954-1964

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Introduction

BROADLY speaking, the purpose of this study is to analyse the careers of the persons who have taken specified courses in local government at the Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, since 1954 when the Institute was established, and to attempt to ascertain the relevance of these courses to the subsequent careers.

The four main objectives for the study are:

(1) To determine the relevance of local government courses to subsequent careers.

(2) To determine the patterns of job change i.e., how many local government staff trained at the Institute have left the local government service, and to determine
   (*a*) why they have left?
   (*b*) for what other jobs?

(3) To evaluate the subject matter in courses in terms of job relevance:
   (*a*) For persons who remain in local government service.
   (*b*) For persons who have left local government service.

(4) To develop a profile of course entrants – age, job experience, education, place of origin, etc.

After presenting his statistical evidence the author concludes:

Evaluation of Courses

More than three-quarters of the responses indicated that they found native treasury accounting subjects studied at the Institute of greater relevance to their careers than purely conciliar techniques. This is true of those who remain with native authorities as well as of those who have left. English language and allied subjects such as minute writing taught at the Institute have been of great relevance to the students especially where much English is used in the native authorities. One hundred and six of the two hundred and two responses showed that English was relevant to their careers. In addition, as many as sixty-two of the responses indicated the relevancy of native authority law and office procedure to their subsequent careers.

On the whole, over 95 per cent. of the responses (to be exact, 192 out of 202) seemed satisfied that the courses taken at the Institute have enhanced their positions and salaries in the native authorities and elsewhere. Thus, it can be assumed that the courses have been a way of training native authority officials to assume positions of responsibility and hence improve the status of their respective native authorities.

Of particular significance is the appointment of one of the products of the Local Government Department as a Permanent Secretary after he had taken one or two short courses overseas in local government. He earns now well over £2,000 per annum. He concluded nevertheless that the courses he took at the Institute have come to play an important role in his career. Yet another special case is that of one of our products who was appointed a Provincial Commissioner charged with the administration of an entire province; he also found the courses taken at the Institute of such value and relevance to his career that he was thinking of returning to the Institute for further studies. A third special case is that of a student who obtained a distinction in his intermediate course examinations. He was still on the diploma course when he qualified to enter a degree course in public administration. By arrangement with Professor of Public Administration, he switched over to the degree programme. He was allowed to take his diploma course examination which he passed with credits. He has also successfully completed the first year of his degree course. Thus, even if we conclude that there are disappointments in training and wastage, at least the best products of the courses indicate a number of people with relevant knowledge of local government (such as have been referred to above) who could be used in the future.

Given the opportunity, a good number of local government trained staff would like to take further courses at the Institute. Some would like to take courses leading to at least the diploma in accountancy. Of the 182 responses who indicated future courses on their forms ninety-six indicated an interest in the diploma in accountancy while thirty-six indicated an interest in the diploma in public administration and fifty in a degree in public administration. The significant point here is the desire to take higher courses particularly in accountancy.

Some of the responses expressed disappointment over the qualities and qualifications of the instructional staff in the department. They therefore suggested the employment of instructional staff with better qualifications. A good number of the responses however expressed satisfaction over a few of the members of staff who were equal to their task. In the opinion of the author the qualities and qualifications of the departmental staff need gearing up, if only to meet the immediate and future needs of the students who will be coming for training. However, there is now an agreed policy set out in the Ministry for Local Government's circular in 1965 which seems to be in the right direction, i.e., that any instructor should obtain a higher qualification than those he teaches or, at least, a stage upwards.

Implications of the Study

It seems as though some native authorities are so poor that they cannot afford to pay the market-rate to their trained staff and so lose them. If the Institute (local government department) will train people only to be lost to other establishments, something must be done to arrest the situation. Although it is not a bad thing for the Institute to train staff for other establishments instead of wholly for the local government service, the native authorities are not yet in a position to dispense with the services of the best trained officials or with such a large number. But it is really significant that the training itself is accepted outside the Institute and the native authorities as of value as the training enables them to get jobs outside the native authorities.

It seems necessary to mention one important factor, apart from pecuniary reasons, which may have kept some of the trained officials with their native authorities. Some of the native authority officials prefer to remain in their home areas because of their families and their friends, or the desire to serve their own people. Apart from this, most native authorities prefer to employ their own "local boys" to employing young men from other areas; their area of employment is thus limited.

Finally, there is a lot to be said for this practice of employing "local boys"; nevertheless, the author feels that the best thing is to employ as many "local boys" as possible in the lower cadre of the native authority establishments, and to leave the top posts to be filled by people who have specialised training notwithstanding their places of origin. In this case many trained persons could easily find better and more attractive jobs while remaining in the field of local government even where the establishments in their own areas have been filled. For instance, Katsina N.A. seems to be in this category; there are over twenty trained officials from the Institute of Administration, eleven of these hold Institute diplomas. The Katsina Native Authority has no vacancies on its establishment to employ all these diploma holders on the scales of salaries to which they are entitled; hence some of the new diploma holders are still paid the salaries of intermediate certificate holders simply because new posts cannot be created for them, although they are still with their native authority. Some of the responses may be interested in other better paid jobs in government, banks, firms, corporations, and/or other native authorities. One way out of the difficulty may well be the creation or the establishment of a "United Service" system for all native authorities in the Northern Provinces as is being done elsewhere in Nigeria or other places. The system will serve as a "clearing house" through which native authorities who have no specially trained persons, but require the services of such persons, could find them. In the same manner, through his 'clearing house' specially trained persons can obtain information as to where suitable jobs with better prospects are available as the salary/promotion prospect is often the most important reason for leaving their native authorities. In this way anomalies could be ironed out; persons trained in local government will be employed in it instead of being lost to other fields and the loss to one native authority will be a gain to another, and there will be no loss to local government service generally.

Quarterly Notes

BRITAIN – *Training*

'Training for Administration in Britain' a pamphlet issued by the Ministry of Overseas Development in May, 1966, contains the following information which will be of considerable general interest to readers in developing countries.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

It must be the principal purpose of public administration to ensure that the functions of government serve a country and its people effectively. These functions have to be carried out with limited resources of manpower; comprehensive training of staff in the practice of administration is therefore of great importance.

In the past governments were concerned mainly with the maintenance of law and order and the provision of a few basic public services. Today, governments are expected to be the source of initiative for economic and social change. As the prime mover of national development, governments are looked to by the people to spread the benefits of economic and social progress on the widest possible scale.

A developing country needs an administrative organisation which is able to undertake the management, co-ordination and evaluation of the public services, and to bring them to the degree of administrative competence necessary to realise the country's development targets.

Administrators have to be trained. Training is not a substitute for a good general education, but is a form of applied education, providing the skills which administrators need. Training in administration is as necessary for the professional officer in government service as for the general administrator, if all parts of a government machine are to operate with equal efficiency; but the general administrator needs to be equipped to deal with the complexities of modern government in whichever of many different fields of activity he finds himself placed. This booklet describes the functions of the Ministry of Overseas Development and The British Council in connection with courses in administration which are offered in Britain.

THE MINISTRY OF OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT AND THE BRITISH COUNCIL

The Ministry of Overseas Development administers the British Government's programme of capital aid and technical assistance for developing countries.

The Ministry aims to assist the development of sound public administration. It recruits qualified men and women in Britain to work abroad as teachers in schools and Institutes of Administration, while specialist advisers and experts are made available for specific projects. The Ministry also arranges for men and women employed in central and local government overseas to be brought to Britain for training.

This two-way traffic is complementary and is intended to build up the stock of public administration skills in developing countries.

The British Council is closely associated with the Ministry of Overseas Development in this work, notably by arranging training courses, individual programmes of study, and advisory tours overseas of senior specialists in many professional fields. The British Council also maintains libraries at its many centres throughout the world and makes a particular point of keeping these libraries supplied with books and periodicals dealing with the theory, practice and history of public administration.

In December, 1961, the British Government appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Bridges to examine the question of training in public administration for overseas countries. The Committee published its report in March, 1963, and its recommendations were accepted by the British Government and have since guided British policy.

Both the Ministry of Overseas Development and the British Council receive generous co-operation from British Universities, Local Authorities and many other institutions in Britain in placing trainees so that they obtain the fullest opportunities of studying public administration whether in an academic context or by gaining practical experience.

Training in Public Administration

The Objectives

The Ministry of Overseas Development and the British Council arrange courses, *ad hoc* attachments, and observation visits in Britain for public servants of overseas countries, designed to increase their usefulness as administrators. The term "public servant" includes central and local government officers and executives of public boards and corporations.

Different Forms of Training

The Bridges Committee identified the following main types of training in the field of public administration:

(*a*) Training in essential office skills, such as shorthand, office machine operation, and book-keeping.

(*b*) Training in office organisation and methods.

(*c*) Training in the administrative work of particular departments or spheres of activity, e.g. customs, taxation, social insurance, hospital administration, educational administration, local government administration, labour administration, nationalised industries, public utilities, diplomatic duties, statistics, probation, prisons, police, armed forces.

(*d*) Training in administration for senior professional officers in the public service, such as agriculturalists and doctors who have already completed their professional training.

(*e*) Courses in training methods for training staff.

(*f*) Academic studies related to public administration, e.g., university courses for a graduate or non-graduate diploma; higher degree courses; and technical college courses in preparation for the examinations of such bodies as the Local Government Examinations Board and the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants.

(*g*) The initial training of young entrants to the executive and administrative grades of the Public Service.

(*h*) The arrangements of visits and attachments to government departments, local authorities, and other public institutions in this country for senior public servants in developing countries.

(*i*) Advanced training specially related to the problems of administration in developing countries, with emphasis on the problems of development planning, finance, manpower, etc.

The foregoing are, in general terms, the types of training with which the Ministry of Overseas Development is concerned. In many cases training can best be provided in the developing countries themselves, for example for clerical and general executive duties, and the initial training of entrants to the administrative grade. Many Institutes of Administration, and Civil Service Training Centres for lower and middle-grade staff, have been established in recent years and the British Government is glad to assist such institutions by making available expert British training staff and equipment.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION TRAINING FACILITIES IN BRITAIN

(*a*) *Study tours designed for particular areas*

A need may arise for a specially designed study tour for students from a particular country or region in order that they may consider a specific problem in depth.

Such tours are normally the responsibility of the British Council. In recent years Study Tours have been organised by the British Council for civil servants from Greece, Malta and Pakistan; community development groups from Kenya and Somalia; town planners from France and Norway; administrators from French-speaking Africa and Laos; and for local government officials from Canada, Czechoslovakia, India, Iran, Italy, Kenya, Nigeria, Japan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Requests for such Study Tours should be put to the local British Council Representative overseas.

(*b*) *Specialised Courses*

A considerable number of specialised courses have been organised for experienced administrators and specialists.

(*c*) *Diploma Course (non-graduate and graduate) at British Universities*

The entry qualifications for diploma courses are laid down by the universities and require the possession of a degree. In certain cases however exceptions are made for individuals who have practical experience or other qualifications which are of special relevance to the proposed course of study.

Some diploma courses are available and for which an excellent knowledge of English is required.

The number of places available for students wishing to undertake post-graduate study is limited.

(*d*) *First Degree Courses*

Unlike many other countries, universities in Britain do not, with one or two exceptions, offer first degree courses in public administration as a subject in itself.

First degree courses in political and allied sciences are designed to broaden the mind and outlook of the student and to contribute to his deeper understanding of the processes of government. Few British universities undertake to provide training in a specialised technique such as budgetary control,

cost accounting, personnel management or operational research. Such training is normally arranged by public bodies for their own staffs, or by professional bodies and colleges of technology or commerce.

The procedure for admission to British Universities is described in a handbook entitled, *How to apply for admission to a University*, produced by the Universities Central Council on Admissions.

Detailed information concerning first degree courses in subjects connected with public administration can be obtained by reference to the handbook entitled *University Courses in Public Administration*, published by the Joint University Council for Social and Public Administration.

A high standard of proficiency in English is essential for those proposing to undertake a degree course.

(e) Institute of Development Studies

An Institute of Development Studies is being established by the Ministry of Overseas Development on the campus of the University of Sussex.

The Institute will cater for senior government officers, university teachers, and others who wish to undertake advanced study, either as individuals or as groups, of the problems of development in all its aspects. Special regard will be had to the practical experience of developing countries.

The Institute will not supplant the work already being done at British Universities and other institutions in this field; it will be an addition to the total resources of Britain for teaching and research in development problems. It is hoped that the Institute will be able to start operations by October, 1966.

General Information Concerning Applications for Training in Britain

Applications

Enquiries about training possibilities in Britain should be addressed to the appropriate British Embassy, British High Commission, or British Council Office.

Applications for British Technical Assistance should be made by the overseas government concerned to the local British Embassy or British High Commission. Applications for British Council awards should be made to the local British Council Representative.

This pamphlet is mainly concerned with the training of members of the public services of developing countries who will be sponsored by their own Governments. Before any private individuals come to Britain to study, they must ensure that a place is available for them at the institution at which they desire to study and that all necessary formalities are complied with (including immigration requirements). They should also ensure that they can meet their expenses in Britain including personal maintenance, suitable clothing for the English climate, college fees and necessary text books.

Knowledge of English

In the case of those for whom English is not their mother-tongue a high standard of fluency, oral and written, in the language is essential. Evidence of proficiency will be called for before applications can be considered. A student who is not proficient in the language cannot derive the proper benefit from the training provided.

Academic calendar

The academic year in Britain commences in September/October and the placing of students is normally completed during the first quarter of the same year, i.e. January/March. Applications for training vacancies should therefore be initiated at least twelve months before the date on which the training is due to begin.

BRITAIN – *Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex*

The Institute has issued a pamphlet on *Courses and Information* 1966-67. Between January and June, 1967, a series of short courses will be run on various aspects of development. The first, January/February, will be on Aid and Trade and will cover: the world economy, international organizations for aid and trade, and Aid practises of leading donors; the second course, February/May, will be on Development of the Rural Sector and will cover *inter alia:* agriculture in the development process, land tenure problems and organizational problems and social aspects; for the period May/June and subject to sufficient demand, one-month courses may also be held on: Plan Implementation, Project evaluation and Educational planning and manpower.

The pamphlet also includes a list of the Institutes' very strong team of visiting and occasional lecturers.

BECHUANALAND – *Local Government Taxation*

As a result of three laws enacted in 1965, Nos. 20, 29 and 35, The Local Government Tax Law, The Chieftainship Law and The District Councils Law, not only does 1966 bring to Bechuanaland a new non-racial, representative and responsible system of local government, succeeding the former tribal administration, but an entirely new Local Government Tax also.

This is a single tax collected by and fully retained by local authorities whose main source of revenue it will be for financing local services. The tax replaces three former taxes: (i) Graded Tax paid by Africans on Cattle Wealth and Wages, which accrued entirely to Local Treasuries (save in Crown lands) (ii) African Tax (which was shared between Central and Local Government) and (iii) Personal Tax levied on non-Africans and accruing to Central Government.

The Local Government Tax contains one novel feature: P.A.Y.E. The Minister responsible for Local Government may, by notice in the *Gazette* under Section 16, specify any employer or class of employers who must collect the tax by a system of monthly deductions from the wages of employees. The normal method is one of affixing tax stamps to a card – and an individual not an employee already subject to P.A.Y.E. may obtain a tax card and affix stamps thereto.

The taxpayer in due course surrenders his card and obtains a clearance certificate. Where the Bechuanaland system differs from the old *Kodi* stamp method, once much used in East Africa, is that the taxpayer is not paying his *current* year's tax, but in effect making regular deposits towards the tax he will be assessed to pay in the following year based on the current year's income.

Had the P.A.Y.E. method evolved been made a lawful method of paying current tax it would not face the very considerable administrative problem of assessment and clearance during the following year when a balance may be

due either to be paid by or repaid to the taxpayer concerned. It will be a matter of considerable interest to see whether P.A.Y.E., as enacted, can be made to work efficaciously, and arrears of tax, for long a grave Bechuanaland problem, at last overcome.

BRITAIN – *Conference on the Laws of Malaysia and Singapore*

A very successful conference on "The Laws of Malaysia and Singapore" was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, Berks, which was made available by the Trustees of St. Catharine's Trust, during the weekend 29th April-2nd May, 1966. The conference was one of a series which has been organized by the British Institute during the last few years to enable practitioners, students and others interested in the laws of the various parts of the Commonwealth to meet in informal and attractive surroundings for the purpose of discussing the legal developments which have taken place in their own territories. Representatives of the Bench and Bar in the countries concerned and in the United Kingdom and representatives of the universities in both countries attend, but the conferences are held mainly for the benefit of Bar students and of law students, both undergraduate and postgraduate, at the universities.

The conference on "The Laws of Malaysia and Singapore" was opened on Friday, 29th April, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Diplock who gave a short introductory address. His speech was followed by a lecture by the Hon. Ahmad bin Mohammad Ibrahim, Attorney-General of Singapore on "Constitutional Law". The Chairman at this session was the Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Diplock.

Proceedings on the second day commenced with a lecture by Professor L. A. Sheridan, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Queen's University, Belfast, and a former Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Singapore, on "Legal Education in Malaysia and Singapore", the Chairman being the Hon. Mr. Justice Cross who had recently taken over from Lord Justice Diplock the chairmanship of the Advisory Board of the Comparative Law Section of the British Institute. After an interval for tea Mr. B. L. Chua, Lecturer of Nottingham College of Technology, and former Dean of the Faculty of Law, of the University of Singapore, gave a talk on "English Law in Malaya and Singapore". The Chairman at this lecture was Professor L. A. Sheridan.

In the afternoon Mr. H. McAleavy, Senior Lecturer, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, delivered a lecture on "Some Aspects of Chinese Family Law". The Chairman on this occasion was Mr. B. L. Chua. After dinner a talk on "Equitable Interests and the Malaysian Torrens System" was delivered by Mr. Y. S. Wong of the University of Singapore, the Chairman being Mrs. K. L. Koh, Lecturer at that University.

The morning of the third day, which was Sunday, was left free to enable the visitors to attend religious services. After lunch the Hon. Dato P. E. H. Pike, Chief Justice in Borneo, read a paper on "Law Revision in Malaysia" which had been prepared by Mr. D. B. W. Good, Commissioner of Law Revision, Malaysia, and a former Judge of Appeal in Malaya. The Chairman was Mr. H. H. Marshall, Assistant Director (Commonwealth) of the British

Institute and former Attorney-General of Northern Nigeria and Commissioner for Law Revision in Northern Nigeria. The final lecture of the series was delivered after tea by Mrs. M. Siraj of the Shariah Court, Singapore, on "Recent Changes in the Administration of Muslim Law in Malaysia and Singapore", the Chairman being the Attorney-General of Singapore. Mrs. Siraj's lecture was followed by a general discussion on all the lectures which had been delivered during the conference.

Among those present, in addition to those specifically mentioned above, were Mr. T. S. Sinnathuray, Senior State Counsel, Singapore, Mr. G. Starforth Hill, Advocate and Solicitor of the Singapore Bar, Mr. C. P. T. Burke, Barrister-at-Law, formerly of the Singapore, Federated Malay States and Johore Bars, Mrs. Burke, Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Institute, and Dr. B. N. Misra, and Dr. M. K. Nawaz, Research Officers of the British Institute. There were present 29 students, 25 of whom came from Malaysia and 4 from Singapore. It was a great pleasure to the Institute to welcome to the Conference Lady Diplock and Lady Cross and the wives of a number of the other senior guests. Their presence greatly added to the social atmosphere and the enjoyment of the occasion.

BRITAIN – *Seminar on African Development and Europe*

The International Student Movement for the United Nations held this Seminar at Cambridge during March. Representatives from franco-phone Africa were among the thirty countries attending. Three main subjects were discussed: Rural development, co-operation in the impact of technological change, Afro-European political relationships.

Among recommendations made were:

An African Common Market and/or Customs Union and Common Currency;

World-wide agreements on commodity prices, production quotas and tariffs;

The encouragement of foreign aid designed to increase the volume of trade, particularly inter-African trade.

THE HAGUE – *International Union of Local Authorities*

The International Union of Local Authorities, has published in 1965 and 1966 the reports of two international courses on decentralization for development. Copies may be obtained from 5 Paleisstraat, The Hague.

The theme of the second course was 'Representative Local Government and National Planning'. There were twenty-one participants coming from fifteen developing countries in Asia, Africa and South America. The course lasted nine and a half weeks and comprised lectures and study tours in the Netherlands, Britain, Sweden, Berlin and Western Germany.

These courses bring practical experience to bear on the themes and propositions put up over the past decade by many international and national research projects. What is noteworthy in the reports, and indeed in all reports of this nature nowadays, is the unanimity of views of practitioner and researcher.

KENYA – *Seminar on the Implementation of the national development plan*

This Seminar was held in December, 1965, at the Kenya Institute of Administration, for members of the Kanu Parliamentary Group, and provided a major opportunity for political leaders and senior civil servants to discuss together all aspects of national development planning and to establish a spirit of mutual co-operation.

We welcome a new Contemporary, *Administration in Kenya* published by the Kenya Institute of Administration and intended not just as the Journal of that Institute but of the Kenya Public Service as a whole.

LAW REPORTS – *East Africa*

Two cases of general interest are reported in the *Journal of African Law*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Autumn 1965. The first[1] was heard in the Somali Republic Supreme Court and arose from a fatal motor car accident in Hargeisa. The Supreme Court's judgment established that *Dia*, or blood-money, though a penal punishment under Shariat law, is civil damages in the Somali Republic by reason of the overriding force of customary law. Because it is not a penal liability, the payment of *Dia* by the tribal section of the offender does not run counter to the constitutional prohibition of collective punishment. Further, the judgment upheld an earlier judgment in a lower court that civil collective responsibility covers acts committed in towns as well as in tribal areas and added that customary law should be interpreted to include situations, such as motor-car accidents, which could not have been contemplated in the early stages of its development.

The Court stated that it was open to the National Assembly to legislate on this matter abolishing or limiting this civil collective liability of the tribe.

The second case, from Uganda,[2] was heard in the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa and the judgment also recognizes the growth and flexibility of customary law, so that it now covers situations previously unknown. Since the Judicature Act of 1962 provides that the common law shall be in force only so far as the circumstances of Uganda and its inhabitants permit, it would seem, so the *Journal of African Law* argues, that the present judgment restricts the common law to such matters as are unknown to customary law as enforced to-day.

DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION – *Statements worth noting*

"Development planning was, in short, a process of decision-making in which the role of the administration consisted in preparing and implementing the plan within its political, economic and social environment."
(Administration of National Development Planning – meeting of experts – Paris, June, 1964.)

"Administration implies action, and action being the ultimate text of policy, gives administration a practical advantage over planning as a medium for achieving public purposes. . . . Planning, however excellent, remains ineffectual until it is translated by administration into action. There may be critical or prophetic value in theoretical planning that does not lead to action.

[1] Hussein Hersi vs. Yusuf Deria Ali Civil Appeal No. 2 of 1964.
[2] The Kabaka's Government vs. N. S. W. Kitonto. Civil Appeal No. 14 of 1965.

But, the practical utility of this type of planning cannot be evaluated. To separate practical planning from administration is like separating cart from horse. . . ."

(Professor Lynton K. Caldwell of Indiana University in *Public Administration Review*.)

"It was considered that any approach to the administrative aspects of development planning would need to recognize the function of the planning process. . . ."

. . . "The planning process was more than the preparation of a plan or the production of a document. It was the process of establishing social and economic goals for which policies, programmes and projects, including the necessary mobilization of manpower and financial resources, were specially designed.

(Administration of National Development Planning – meeting of experts – Paris, June, 1964.)

"Administrative factors enter into all stages of the planning process. First, after a decision has been taken by the political authorities to adopt planning as the policy for national development, an administrative structure must be organized to take charge of the elaboration of the plan. Secondly, at the elaboration stage of the plan, the co-operation of different administrative services with the planning unit is required for supplying the necessary information and statistical data, participating in the preparation of decisions and organizing arbitration machinery at both the administrative and the political levels. Thirdly, at the execution stage of the plan, the administration machinery has to bring its activities into line with the objectives of the plan in regard to the determination, execution, controls and revisions of specific projects. Thus, the application of the plan raises problems of co-ordination not only between the central administration and the planning organ, but also between the technical and administrative services at the regional and local levels."

"A gradual change in the attitudes of all administrative officials is necessary in addition to a modification of administrative processes with a view to integrating, or at any rate co-ordinating, the activities of management services with those of development services."

(Michel Debeauvais, Director, Institute of Economic and Social Development Studies, Paris.)

From the United Nations, "Development depends heavily on the quality of the administrative personnel available".

From the Mediterranean, "An efficient civil service dedicated to economic development is indispensable to success. . . . The country studies therefore call for a reform of the governmental administrative framework and for experiments with new forms of organization".

From Africa, "There is a growing realization throughout the continent that the administrative establishment must be radically improved if deliberate efforts to accelerate economic and social progress are to be successful, if coherent plans are to be drawn up and carried into execution".

From Asia and the Far East, "The implementation of a development programme rests ultimately upon the administrative machinery, and obviously there is no merit in drawing up a programme which cannot be implemented".

From Latin America, "The greatest promise of improvement lies in the widespread interest that is developing in most of the mid-American and South American countries in the problems of government operation and in the resultant willingness to introduce new procedures".

(Evangelos John Rizos, in "Country Development, the New Ethic of Public Administration", published in the *International Review of Administrative Sciences;* vol. xxxi, 1965, No. 4.)

"The administrative deficiencies are reflected in the gap between the government's expectations (as expressed in its development plans) and its concrete achievements (as indicated in the extent of plan implementation). Creating the administrative machinery to close this gap is one of the most urgent tasks facing governments of developing countries."

(From a paper by Dr. Chi-Yuen Wu, Head of the United Nations Public Administration, in his personal capacity.)

"Prima facia, a body of officials, in theory so highly qualified, could be expected to secure for the Service the highest standards of efficiency. In practice the excessive proportion of places reserved to holders of university degrees is one of the principal causes of the malaise of the Civil Service."

"Administrative reform, accordingly, cannot be properly regarded as a drastic, once-and-for-all operation. It should be seen, on the contrary, as a process of adaptation to changing conditions and needs, as a continued and systematic effort to bring about improvement in the administrative system."

"No lasting improvement, however, in the working of the administrative system, will be possible unless the Civil Service is staffed by men and women not only of proved intellectual competence and administrative ability, but animated by zeal, dedication to duty and a positive, constructive approach to the problems of modern government."

(Demetries Cl. Argyriades, in "Some Aspects of Civil Service Reorganization in Greece", published in the *International Review of Administrative Sciences;* vol. xxxi, 1965, No. 4.)

Book Reviews

Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society, by FRED W. RIGGS. (1) An Impression, by C. A. G. Wallis. (2) A Commentary thereon, by Professor Riggs. (3) A Review, by Professor A. H. Hanson.

(1) An Impression

Where others describe, deplore and sometimes excuse, Professor Riggs is out merely to explain. His explanation however, is at the highest level of theory and offers no direct guidance to a practitioner of administration where to find, in the words of one reviewer,[2] "the soft underbelly" of administration in developing countries, the point where the harpoon of reform may most easily strike home, yet it is a fair guess that no such practitioner who takes the trouble to read this book will ever feel quite the same again about the approach to his task.

It does take trouble to read this book for the ideas that have been accumulating over the past decade in Professor Riggs' mind have found expression in a vocabulary not hitherto much in vogue with practical administrators. The argument in each case is closely reasoned and vividly expressed, yet as Ilchman says, it is like reading a long Russian novel where one cannot keep all the characters' names straight. For instance, by the time the reader has reached page 284 he is expected to recognise the characters in the following passage:

> "In the foregoing analysis . . . we have seen how the inefficiency of the *sala* is reinforced by the price indeterminacy of the bazaar-canteen, by pariah entrepreneurship and intrusive access to the élite, by the agglomeration of values, by strategic spending and strategic learning as instruments of élite recruitment, by poly-communalism and poly-normativism, by double talk, blocked throughputs, bi-focalism and equivocacy, by the dependency syndrome, interference complex, and the formalism effect."

Strange as it may seem, if the reader has persevered so far, he will have become familiar with most of these expressions.

To go back to the beginning. The sub-title of this book is The Theory of Prismatic Society. Professor Riggs considers that the accepted dichotomy of traditional and modern, agricultural and industrial, undeveloped and developed societies makes it impossible to describe intermediate states of society otherwise than as more or less like one of the opposites. Yet among societies with which we are dealing the number of cases diminishes rather than increases as one approaches either extreme and consequently the use of such starting points can lead to faulty understanding of concrete situations in transitional societies. Riggs therefore constructs a new model of fused (white) light passing through a prism to emerge diffracted upon a screen as a rainbow spectrum.

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[1] Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1964, pp. 467 and Index, $7.95.

[2] Warren F. Ilchman in *Public Administration*, December, 1965, the Journal of the American Society for Public Administration, Washington, D.C.

If fused light represents societies where public functions are performed by an undifferentiated structure of government, diffracted light represents societies where these functions are performed by completely differentiated structures. However, no real society totally corresponds with either end of the continuum. That is why the holistic studies of anthropologists at the fused end and the specialised studies of social scientists at the diffracted end are inadequate for describing intermediate situations where differentiation is beginning but is not complete or autonomous.

A situation can be imagined within the prism where "the diffraction process starts but remains incomplete. The separate colours, though differentiated are captive, imprismed". The qualified doctor who still protects his children from witchcraft, the rationalist who keeps his fingers crossed are not to be considered as falling short of some desirable state, but as prismatic characters worthy of description as they exist, with opposite tendencies incompletely separated.

A prismatic situation is to be found in societies wherever actual practice differs from the stated rules. To take one example, there may be a formal rule governing public appointments and appointments may seem to conform with the rule although actually they have been made in some different way. Where in any field practice differs widely from precept it cannot be explained wholly in terms of delinquency. Nepotism cannot exist as an offence unless there is some formal rule prohibiting it. The prismatic model offers a non-moralistic explanation.

In present thinking, public administration is constructed, and from time to time "reformed", as though it were a concrete system which can be separated from the surrounding society. "As the concept of a diffracted system has emerged, it has become possible to see that only in the most developed society, and not even there in any complete sense, do concrete administrative systems emerge. For the most part we are dealing with social systems which have administrative aspects and more or less embryonic administrative structures."

Now begins the difficult part. To describe the administrative aspects of prismatic society, Riggs borrows and adapts technical terms from social science and other disciplines. He also invents new concepts. So let us look again at the quotation which summarises "the foregoing analysis".

In a diffracted society administration is conducted in an office by officers who, by reference to stated norms, may be judged efficient or inefficient. In a fused society substantive, though non-specialised, administration is carried out in a chamber, court, hall or palace by officials (not officers) who may be just or unjust but, in the absence of norms, cannot be judged efficient or inefficient. The prismatic bureau, which Riggs denotes by a new word, *Sala*, taken from the Spanish, exhibits a mixture of the characteristics of the diffracted office and the fused chamber.

In the economic field the market system of a diffracted society is completely monetized. A price can be fixed for everything and the basis of a transaction is contract. In prismatic society there is also a bazaar system where prices are indeterminate. A transaction is concluded as the result of bargaining and the ultimately agreed price often depends on the relative status of seller and buyer.

So the inefficiency of the *sala* is reinforced by the *prices indeterminacy of the bazaar*. "In the office model it is assumed that governmental outputs

which are for sale (public transportation, postal services, foreign exchange, import quotas, the use of communication facilities) are available to the public at uniform rates without distinction of person . . . but under price indeterminacy discriminations are made according to the social status or personal influence of each client."

Thus, paradoxically, in the diffracted market where everything has a price, some things, e.g., integrity, cannot be bought. In the prismatic bazaar where nothing has a price, everything is for sale.

In a diffracted society the innovating entrepreuneur, so necessary for development, is protected by contract and his access to élite status is uninhibited. A fused society "cannot provide substantial support for entrepreneurship without losing its characteristically fused structure. If entrepreneurship were protected . . . then productivity would rise and increasing differentiation of roles would occur". In a prismatic society, where the economy is shifting from subsistance towards a market basis, the entrepreneur is welcomed for the wealth he produces but, whatever the laws may say, is denied security. He becomes, in Riggs' expression, a *pariah entrepreneur*, whose access to élite status is not excluded nor yet open but intrusive. That is, he intrudes as a client at the door of his master, to be welcomed perhaps one day, but rejected the next. The future of the pariah entrepreneur then depends on his personal relations with the élite and whether by threats or bribes he can obtain security for his operations. "Where property is insecure, the man with power can seize wealth, but the man with wealth must buy protection from the man with power."

Who then are the élite? According to Riggs they are the power-holders in society. "In a fused society opportunities for élite status are so limited by ascription that, save for a tiny minority of the population, there is no question of seeking power. In the diffracted model relative autonomy of eminence (in learning, the arts, business and so forth) offers the ambitious person many opportunities for personal advancement, without need for power . . . but in the prismatic model, although doors of opportunity are opened to many, they all converge on a few positions in the power pyramid."

The *agglomeration of values* takes place when "a number of eminent classes are differentiated, but only in embryonic, insecure form and a single power élite imposes its domination over them . . . the eminent have not yet been able to impose limits upon the élite to secure the autonomy of their chosen values, e.g., property rights, academic freedom, separation of church and state." Some of the consequences of the agglomeration of values are that wealth and learning, having no security as ends in themselves, must be used as a means to power. Thus wealth is spent to maximise power rather than productivity – *strategic spending*. Similarly "when research and scholarship are not prized as independent values, learning is used to enter Government service and rise to power through bureaucratic channels" – *strategic learning*.

Poly-communal, rather than plural, is the term applied to the typically prismatic society, where the population has been partially mobilised by fundamental education and by mass communication media, but has not been wholly assimilated to the symbol system of the élite, as in a diffracted society. "Hence several large communities tend to arise within the society. The élite of one community is dominant and the counter-élites of the . . . deviant

communities engage in various forms of hostile action ranging from . . . non-co-operation . . . to open violence and revolution."

"Diffracted ways of viewing the world are introduced, but the fused ways, though undermined, are not displaced. Hence the characteristic myth[3] of the prismatic society is *poly-normative*. . . . Prismatic men may well become more incredulous than either fused or diffracted men who by and large accept unquestioningly the prevailing ideas, whether those of the scientist or the witch doctor. . . . There seems little possibility of an intermediate set of beliefs and values, but the overlapping of incompatible outlooks surely affects both."

Political codes – the laws, regulations, policies and rules which form the content of governmental action – presuppose a polity in which there is an organised in-put of interests and out-put of activity. *Through-put* is the link between in-put and out-put and is the action that takes place inside the *sala*, nominally the decision-making process. In a fused society decisions are particularistic and are really choices between persons made in concrete cases which have already arisen. In a diffracted society decisions are based impersonally upon rules already made in anticipation of cases. Prismatic codes, "while appearing to promulgate a rule, in fact permit a wide variety of personalized choice by the enforcement officials". A contract may be awarded which at both the in-put and out-put ends is formally correct, but in all other respects is seen to be outrageous. What has happened during the through-put? There has been a constriction or a *blockage* and there has been a detour where a personalized choice has been substituted for an impersonal decision. A code which is ambiguous in this way is called by Riggs "*double talk*".

The scope of power refers to the range of values affected and varies inversely with degree of diffraction of a system. We have seen that power includes not only formal authority, but also informal control. Riggs calls the scope of prismatic power *bifocal* since through the smaller lens, only the narrowly circumscribed range of formal power is seen, but through the larger lens the far wider spread of effective control is discovered.

If the power élites have to indulge in strategic spending in order to maintain their power by influencing others, they must acquire wealth surplus to their earnings. They must become *dependent* on the tribute of others who, willingly or unwillingly, must hand over part of their production. The dependent élites seek to perpetuate a state in which they benefit most and the various symptoms of prismatic society appear in association with one another, each causing and being caused by another, but resulting in patterned consequences. Riggs calls this a *syndrome*. One might also call it a vicious circle.

Complaints by politicians that officers obstruct them and by officers that politicians interfere in administrative action are common in prismatic society. Of this Riggs says, "The separation of politics and administration which is one of the distinguishing marks of a well-diffracted polity turns out to be one of the most difficult transformations to achieve. The attempt to carry it out produces the inner tensions and contradictions which I have called the *interference complex*. I find it one of the most characteristic and revealing marks of the prismatic model. With the dependency syndrome, it gives us a

[3] P. 175, "Myth refers to the underlying norms, the basic values or goals, the ultimate purposes by which any human society guides itself."

basis for understanding the critical role played by power in the process of development – economic, social, political and administrative".

The *formalism effect* is the result of things being not what they seem. The laws and rules do not always accurately describe the way men and units really behave, both because of the over-lapping of different outlooks and because of the heterogeneity of prismatic societies which range from the sophistication of capital cities to almost unawakened attitudes in villages of the hinterland.

The method of this book is to describe anew from an administrative standpoint certain phenomena which have been widely observed in developing countries, and to reduce these descriptions to concrete terms, most of which are taken from other disciplines and adapted to the administrative context, but some are newly invented. These value-neutral terms are then fitted together to form a description of the ecology of administration. A theory emerges and a model is provided for easy recognition.

It can be said at once that although Riggs has taken most of his examples from South East Asia and none from Africa, he has nevertheless accurately described the ecology of administration in African countries. Once one has got used to the terminology one finds oneself on familiar ground. In Africa also one recognises the price indeterminateness of the bazaar – the pariah entrepreneurs in the shape of foreign business communities, strategic spending, strategic learning and all the rest.

What of the theory? Briefly this states that the development of a society can be measured by the degree to which functions are differentiated. Using the model of the prism, the theory states that once a society has started to develop the more fused (undifferentiated) it remains, the greater the deference of society to power as the sole source of eminence. Notwithstanding laws and rules, power extends its effective control whenever it can, thereby dominating, or at least affecting adversely all other values. In such a situation much of so-called economic development may cause an actual decline of social and welfare values (e.g., a widening gap between rich and poor), resulting in negative development. Positive development can only come when the possibility has been opened up for persons to achieve eminence in fields dissociated from the acquisition and maintenance of power and when such eminent persons are numerous enough to form self-conscious groups strong enough to check the encroachment of the power élite, and to obtain for their specialisation a degree of autonomy. The clue to positive development is differentiation of function – diffraction.

Meanwhile administration in the prismatic model is not as yet diffracted so as to be studied as an autonomous system. As a consequence Professor Riggs makes a strong plea not for an inter-disciplinary but for a pan-disciplinary approach to the study of administration. A solution to a given problem will not be as easily found by an administrative technologist working alone, nor even by a conversation between specialists in different disciplines, as by a merging of all relevant disciplines.

Some administrators no doubt will feel that this tells them little beyond what they already knew from experience. Perhaps they will also recall the tag, "what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed". If they jib at the terminology it is open to them to suggest simpler terms and Professor Riggs would be the first to welcome this. He says that normally he is not at all averse himself from prescribing reform in particular situations, but that in this

book he is deliberately eschewing prescription in order to go on an intellectual pilgrimage. He well understands that theory and model will stand or fall by the extent to which they cover other situations and other areas of the world beyond those he has observed himself and, one should add, by their usefulness to administrative reformers. One cannot but admire the courage with which he has gone right out on a limb and applaud his modesty throughout.

In any high level exposition of aid programmes it is always stressed that technical assistance experts must resist the temptation to transplant their own experience to foreign countries without considering the cultural and social attitudes of the country concerned. An administrative adviser going abroad for a long-term assignment will have time to accustom himself to these attitudes, but no-one ever says how the short-term adviser is to be made acquainted with them.

Typically a short-term administrative adviser is some busy official seconded from his home employment for a period of three to six months and given precise terms of reference, for example to advise on a taxation system, methods of budgeting or personnel management. Some like to be briefed before they go about the local circumstances of their assignment: others choose not to be briefed, preferring, as they say, to go with an open mind. In neither case can even the fringes be touched of the ecology of administration in prismatic societies. Yet this is necessary if all the good-will, time and hard work which are put into an assignment are to do more than result in the better appearance of some organisation chart and are really to bring about some improvement of administrative behaviour.

Professor Riggs' book highlights this problem and brings out the need for a vocabulary common to many disciplines, so that ideas can be discussed in a shared language without the need for long and possibly subjective explanations. Many people are sure to work on from the base-line now established by Riggs and it is hoped that at least one of them will direct his attention to the important practical task of producing a short manual which can be handed to the administrative expert going to any developing country on a technical assistance assignment.

C. A. G. WALLIS.

(2) A Commentary

In general comment on your paper, let me say that I have no fault to find with your digest. I shall content myself with some general comments on my method, purpose, and style.

First, on the difficult matter of terminology which seems to have troubled many readers. I admit that the book may be difficult, but not obscure if one takes the trouble to read it carefully. The reason is that I confront some new concepts, and when you do that, you inevitably face a problem of communication. There is no one who sets more store by simple English and plain lucidity than I do. But it is precisely for this reason that I have been compelled, from time to time, to bring in some novel words. If you really have a new concept, then you face a dilemma about how to refer to it. If you feel that words are sacred and cannot be tampered with, you are lost. One may, of course, use a long phrase or clause to refer to an idea, but this becomes cumbersome if the idea needs repeating. One may take an existing word with

a similar meaning and give it a new twist, but this often leads to misunderstanding and accusations that one is misusing the King's English. I have done this often enough, but have tried to make certain that the context would always show whether the word was used in its ordinary or special sense. Words like "concentration", "dispersal", "intrusion", "integration", etc., come to mind.

Frequently, of course, a simple phrase, like "strategic learning" or "strategic spending", will be sufficiently self-evident in meaning to cause little difficulty. But often I have been unable to discover any word or phrase that could be used without danger of misunderstanding. This has led me to such novelties as "prismatic", "*sala*", "clect", "bazaar-canteen". Let me say, however that I have always been willing to substitute a more common word if anyone can suggest a good synonym, but few of my critics have ever come up with acceptable substitutes. I recall one book reviewer who took some pains to show, with diagrams, that I had misinterpreted optics and that the word I should have used in place of "diffraction" was "dispersion". In a strict optical sense, he may have been correct, but difficulty arises from the fact that the word "dispersion" is already is use, not only by me but by Lasswell and others, to refer to a distribution of power in which functionally specialized organizations (both inside and outside of government) are quite autonomous, as they are in the United States. Consequently I could not use the word "dispersion" without causing more confusion. As a matter of fact, I am now convinced that I should have stuck to my first impulse to use the word "refraction", rather than "diffraction" which I took in response to an earlier criticism by someone else. To be quite precise, it is "double refraction" that does the light splitting trick through two surfaces of a prism.

Incidentally, I do not find in your paper many places where you have found any way to simplify the presentation of my ideas. You have succeeded in pulling out some of my salient propositions for a short paper, but these you often present by quotation, suggesting that you find these statements to be clear enough as they stand. It is only when statements are taken out of context, i.e. when one reads a sentence with a technical term, but has not previously read the definition of that term, that one gets the impression of "gobbledegook". This, of course, is what happens when you present my summary quotation, as you do in your second paragraph. However, that sentence was intended to be read only *after* all the key terms in it had been carefully defined and frequently used. Incidentally, it might help at that point in your paper to mention that all my technical terms are listed in the index with references to the definitions, normally occurring the first time each term is used.

It strikes me that much of the criticism of the terminology used in social science writing is quite misplaced. It is not the choice of terms which needs attention so much as clarity of thought. I have just been reading an essay by a learned colleague of mine, for example, in which not a neologism is to be found. But the level of obscurity, circumlocution, and repetitiveness is so high that after an hour of it I feel as though I had been wallowing in cotton wool mainly hunting for a hard gem of truth. I think it rather unfair to attack a person for his choice of words if they convey clear and interesting ideas; what is reprehensible is murky thinking and meaningless discourse. This is what should be attacked without mercy.

Let me illustrate by offering the following quotation in which every word presumably means what a standard dictionary would indicate:

> "It is this potential contradiction in the structure and orientation of the bureaucracy that accounts for the fact which has been, in a way, the focus of our analysis here; although bureaucracy's political orientations always and necessarily presuppose the basic premises of the bureaucratic polity, some of them may undermine the bases of these premises. In other words, the bureaucracy's tendency toward displacing its goals and activities, a tendency which may develop under certain conditions inherent in bureaucracy's growth, might nullify the possibility of its performing its basic tasks in the social structure, thus contributing to the weakening of the fundamental premises of centralized polities."

After you have examined this carefully, can you say that it makes any significant point which would not be stated more plainly by the following proposition: the more prismatic a bureaucracy, and hence the more formalistic, the more difficult it is for that bureaucracy to serve the political and administrative purposes of its polity.

A different problem arises in regard to the possible interest in my writing of practitioners in the field. I have quite mixed feelings on this subject. Of course, I am naturally flattered, as any writer would be, by evidence that my work is reaching a larger audience. Who would not be – especially if this somehow gets translated into royalties! On the other hand, I am not yet convinced that my explanatory propositions can be readily utilized by practitioners, even if they are well understood. At best, they may sometimes help one to see why the approach he is taking will not work, or will only accentuate the difficulties he is trying to overcome. But they will not tell him what alternative path he ought to follow.

In this sense, if practitioners take the trouble to read my stuff, they may only become more dissatisfied with their work than they already are – they will not thereby be guided to solutions. In other words, I am somewhat fearful of the consequences at this stage of any general dissemination of my ideas among practitioners. If you decide to publish your paper in the *Journal*, I hope you will make this point clear to your readers. David Riesman, in the introduction to one of his books, explained that he deliberately used a difficult style in order to put off certain readers whom he did not want to have. He was addressing criticisms of the liberal position to liberal readers, and did not want conservatives to use them to attack liberals for the wrong reasons. I am, of course, working in the hope that some day I may have a useful message to present to the practitioners of public administration overseas – or if I cannot, then at least some of my students may. But meanwhile I hope I may be excused if I write with the social scientist in mind as my primary audience. On occasion, when I have tried, I have written in language which the average layman could easily understand. But at this stage I question the desirability of taking this approach.

On p. 285 you suggest that some administrators may find nothing new in my analysis – that the situations described are familiar to them. Two comments. First, it is precisely the universally known problems of administration in the "less developed" countries that form the subject of my analysis. They are described in the excerpts from the World Bank reports summarized on

pp. 243-259. These are familiar to everyone in the field. What is novel, I hope, is the explanation of why these conditions should exist. Many writers, after all, attribute them to the unique cultural characteristics of this tribe or that nation, to personality traits induced by infant care practices, to the historical experience of a given country or its racial composition. If I have succeeded at all, it is to dispose of some of these over-simplified explanations, and especially to expose the notion that administrative difficulties arise primarily out of ignorance or immorality. Hence the infusion of "know-how" or reforming zeal will not suffice to bring about the desired changes.

A second thought occurs to me in this connection. My work, as you know, has largely been based on observations in Southeast Asia. If, nevertheless, my generalized explanation fits circumstances elsewhere in the world, as in Africa and the Caribbean, then this is the evidence of the widespread relevance of the framework presented. In the usual way of thinking, it would be quite surprising if a theory based on data from one part of the world were to fit well another part where circumstances are quite different in many respects.

On the text of your paper I have a few specific comments to make. On p. 285, in the fourth paragraph, you have captured my conclusion without indicating why I should think so. The point is that in a transitional (prismatic) situation, the influence of old standards based on custom declines before the influence of new norms based on principles of law and universalistic standards can become well established. In this kind of moral vacuum, a condition which I call "normlessness" prevails. It is precisely in such situations that the rule of violence and naked power becomes most prevalent.

Also, when in this context you use a word like "eminence" (to which I have given a specific meaning) without definition, you are likely to confuse your reader. This is one of the few places where I think your effort to shorten the presentation necessarily makes the ideas themselves obscure. I think you should explain here that the "elect" possess all those qualities which are treasured by a society, such as wealth, prestige, power, learning, affection. In traditional (fused) societies these tend to be combined in a single group of people, and power is typically derivative from other values. In modern (diffracted) societies, these values tend to become separated so that power is a special quality of some, the "élite", and the other values are enjoyed by various groups: the wealthy, the learned, the prestigeful, etc. For convenience I refer to all these non-élite elects as the "eminent". It is therefore incorrect, by my definition, to refer to power as a source of eminence. What would be true of the prismatic model is that a power élite tends to monopolize other treasured values of a society, and prevent the formation of truly eminent, non-power-holding groups. At the same time, this élite attains supremacy through the exercise of naked power (as by military coup) more than in either the fused or diffracted model. I would argue that this model does in fact fit the circumstances of many countries in the "third world". Consider the rise and fall of Nkrumah as a case in point.

On your final paragraph, I agree with you about the need – in the long run – for consensus about the meaning of technical terms if they are to be widely used. And there is no doubt today much confusion of thought because different words are used for the same idea, and different ideas are intended by the same word. However, the key to the solution of this problem is not at this

point, I submit, to attempt to standardize nomenclature, but rather to encourage further research and study of the substantive and theoretical problems with the aim of producing greater clarity about what are the really important meanings. I suspect that many of them have not yet been identified, which is why we lack names for them. And lexical efforts at this stage may well freeze terminology before the essential meanings have been discovered. This is why, perhaps, up to a certain point, a continuing Babel of tongues is not only unavoidable but perhaps even desirable.

FRED RIGGS.

(3) A Review

On the subject of public administration, American universities (which can afford to be extravagant) produce a great deal of polysyllabic rubbish. One is therefore inclined to dismiss as rubbish anything polysyllabic about public administration that is produced by an American university. Nothing could be more mistaken. From time to time, out of the vast acres of verbiage, there emerges something of major importance. The difficulty, of course, is to recognise it when it appears, hemmed in as it is by those ubiquitous rank growths to which it bears such a striking superficial resemblance. Political scientists on this side of the Atlantic had to look rather hard before they could see that Gabriel Almond's now famous introduction to "The Politics of Developing Areas" was not just another chunk of gobbledegook; and students of public administration will also have to give more than a passing glance at Fred Riggs's "Administration in Developing Countries" before they realise that here is something quite special – something that they themselves might have written if they had possessed the academic courage, the intellectual rigour and the scholarly persistence that some of their colleagues in places like Bloomington, Indiana seem to have acquired.

Admittedly, the average British student of public administration will have to overcome many prejudices – including a few quite healthy ones – before he can come to terms with Fred Riggs, who is perhaps the most persistent and unrepentent "model builder" in the whole trade. In this book they will find paraded before them, in solemn procession, all the models which those of us who are familiar with his previous writings have perhaps tended to regard as rather amusing but extremely fragile toys, like the mobiles one buys in Scandinavia – the Prismatic Model, the *Sala* Model, the Bazaar-Canteen Model and the rest. Readers will also have to learn how to accept, without flinching, a whole number of exceedingly nasty neologisms, such as "Clect" (a word so lacking in euphony as to make even a Benthamite blanch), and how to adjust themselves to expressions as utterly cloacal as "blocked throughputs". Yet I must assure them that it is all thoroughly worth while. Professor Riggs has something very important to say; moreover, despite his use of a language which is sometimes unnecessarily idiosyncratic and esoteric, he says it very well.

True enough, any educated and sensitive person who has had a few years of contact with the "official" life of a "developing" country will be familiar enough with the essential stuff of his thesis. Professor Riggs's "prismatic society" is the Bombay or Madras or Allahabad of the old I.C.S. man, just as the "fused" society is his Naga Hills and the "diffracted" society his native London, Manchester or Edinburgh (or indeed the Eastbourne to

which he has retired). For him the new label will not even be a convenient identification tag, but simply an unnecessary excresence. Alas (or perhaps hurrah), the old I.C.S. man is an increasingly rare figure, and in any case (even when, like Brayne, he was a fanatic for rural uplift) what he thought he knew about economic development was largely false, i.e. that it could only be left to take its "natural" course, helped on by the maintenance of law and order and the provision of a few basic (now known as "infrastructural") services. The people who are helping the underdeveloped countries today are of a very different stamp: "technicians" of one kind or another who go out for comparatively brief periods and (particularly if they are American) tend to carry with them their home-grown prejudices and preconceptions. They have no time to adjust themselves to a very alien environment by the comparatively leisurely old "apprenticeship" methods; their task, moreover, is not to fit themselves into an established pattern but to help the more modern-minded of their hosts to initiate and accelerate the process of change. If they are to be even partially effective, therefore, they need to become very quickly acquainted with the essential characteristics of a society which is neither "fused" (i.e. primitive), nor "diffracted" (i.e. advanced), but "prismatic" (i.e. transitional). Their briefing on Riggsian principles may not give them the solutions to any problems, but at least it will help them to understand what the problems are – and this is the beginning of all wisdom, as in a "prismatic" society the apparent problems are rarely the real ones. The great virtue of Professor Riggs's book is that it represents a first step towards making this kind of generalised knowledge available, not only to the foreign "expert" but to the educated "native", who sometimes needs it even more.

I am not suggesting for one moment that this is a kind of ultra-sophisticated administration manual. On the contrary, it is a work of such refined, inter-disciplinary scholarship that the so-called practical man will be only too ready to dismiss it as sublime mysticism and nonsense. It is the practical man, however, who in the long run will benefit by its wisdom; for it does represent a big step along the difficult path towards a more mature understanding of administrative behaviour in "developing" countries – perhaps the biggest step taken since, some time in the early 1950s, the people running the UN specialised agencies (having taken a long, hard look at oil-rich countries such as Iraq and Venezuela) began to realise that administrative deficiencies could be as crippling as lack of capital, and that there was no such thing as an administrative "apparatus", but only a body of people calling themselves administrators who, although looking very much like their apparent counterparts in London, Washington and Paris, were as different in their backgrounds, assumptions and behaviour as – say – Nyerere was from Macmillan or Ne Win from Eisenhower.

Just why it represents so big a step forwards can hardly be explained in a short review; for the book is not one that can easily be reduced to a few simple propositions. It must be read – read for the keen analysis that lies beneath its peculiar language, read for the sensitivity of the feelers that it puts forth to probe the places that are still very dark. Indeed, with this admirable work I have only one real quarrel – and that is with what seems to me Professor Riggs's finickiness about the definition of "development". Like many contemporary American scholars, he finds himself wondering whether economic development, i.e. the rise in *per capita* incomes, is really worth while if

achieved at the expense of political development, i.e. progress towards democracy. This may be an acute problem from the vantage point of Bloomington, Indiana – and, indeed, I must admit that totalitarianism and its variants look no nicer from that of Leeds, Yorkshire – but it seems much less acute in less fortunately-situated places. Either production wins the race with population or we all go down, communists and democrats alike. Administration in under-developed countries, therefore, is either administration for economic development or it is bad administration; and the same goes for politics. If both have to use methods which one would not like to see employed in Bloomington or Leeds, it is the "historical situation", as our Marxist friends would say, that is to blame.

A. H. HANSON.

Local Government in Japan, by KURT STEINER, *Stanford University Press, Stanford, California,* 1965. 565 pp.

Specialists and layman alike with an interest in Japanese studies or comparative politics should welcome this excellent, well-balanced book which fills a void of long standing in published materials on local government in Asia's first industrial nation. In clear, well-written prose, the author addresses his commentary toward two main questions: how much local autonomy actually exists in Japan today? and what is the relationship between local autonomy and democracy in Japan?

These questions point out two vital issues in local government. The first is the disparity between legal forms and actual conditions and the many historical and other factors which can stand in the way of the successful grafting of foreign political forms onto native bodies politic. The second concerns the importance of local government as the training ground for a nation's citizens in the democratic process and its adequacy as such a training ground.

The author devotes the first quarter of the book to a necessary historical introduction which traces the topic of local government from Tokugawa times (1600-1868) to the Occupation period (1945-1952). Not content to accept the judgment of many authors on the Tokugawa system as one of "local self-government", Steiner makes the more insightful diagnosis that this seeming autonomy was but the result of a "vacuum of government" – vacuum left by the decision of rulers to concern themselves with the lives of commoners only as necessary to ensure tax payment and the maintenance of social order and not from a belief in the rights of inferiors against superiors. This particular moral underpinning has consistently been lacking in Japanese hierarchical relations and the alternative belief in the diffuse authority of superiors over inferiors and the diffuse obligations of loyalty of inferiors to superiors has hardly been conducive to the growth of local independence.

The early Meiji leaders, in drafting the blueprints for Japan's first modern local government system, purposely subordinated local interests to those of the state. Local initiative was bound within narrow limits and the main function of local government lay in carrying out tasks assigned by the central government. Police and education were nationally supervised and local finances were kept weak and dependent on the national treasury.

With slight modification, this system was maintained throughout the pre-war period. World War II brought the direct line of central government control down to the neighbourhood level and neighbourhood units of ten families

were utilized for everything from food rationing and air raid drill to enforced saving and compulsory labour service programmes to aid the war cause.

Defeat and the occupation brought constitutional and legal reforms in local government but these reforms did not go far enough – a point which Steiner clarifies and explains in the remaining three-quarters of the book which is devoted to an analysis of the present system. In this main section, the author discusses in detail the constitutional provisions for local government; the various levels of local government from the prefecture down to the cities, towns, villages and neighbourhood associations and their interrelationships; the division of functions between these levels; the financial dependence of local bodies; and the participation of citizens in local government – using many actual cases to enrich his discussion.

His conclusion is that local autonomy was never established in Japan, in spite of the adoption of an American model, for a number of related reasons. First, the personnel at all levels of the government bureaucracy have been carried from the pre-war regime and their attitudes and expectations have not basically changed. Hierarchical notions remain strong and the "pecking order" of central to prefectural to municipal levels remains and deference is still shown to higher levels. Second, there has been no clear-cut assignment of independent functions to local governments and higher levels can still meddle in the affairs of lower level governments. Third, local governments are financially almost completely dependent on the central government and local leaders feel the need to comply with the expectations and desires of national bureaucrats and to accept, or even to seek, their advice and consent to stay in the good graces of those who hold the purse strings. Fourth, the bulk of the Japanese electorate has maintained traditional values and has encouraged local leaders to work harmoniously and deferentially with higher levels of government.

With such conditions, the area of local government is poorly equipped to train the citizens of Japan in democratic ways. Even so, Steiner reassures us that all is not lost. The increasing political consciousness of even rural Japanese has forced political parties to begin building local party organizations to replace the weakening traditional systems of individual loyalty. Partisan politics at a local level must lead inevitably to the acceptance of conflict and such democratic processes as recourse to the courts to protect local rights. Of course, if local parties are to differ on matters of any importance, they must function in an atmosphere of greater local autonomy and responsibility. Such an atmosphere, which the author suggests can be brought about without retarding economic development, would encourage the growth of viable local associations and prevent Japanese society – whose traditional solidary communities are weakening – from becoming atomized and ripe for totalitarianism.

STANLEY T. FUKAWA.

African Law: Adaptation and Development, edited by HILDA KUPER and LEO KUPER. [*University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles; Cambridge University Press. London,* 1965. Index, 275 pp. $7.50.]

This book contains the papers read at the second interdisciplinary seminar arranged by the African Studies Centre of the University of California, Los Angeles, and held in the spring of 1963.

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I contains, first, an introduction by the editors, who are, respectively, Professor of Anthropology and Professor of Sociology at the University of California, and, secondly, a preliminary essay on the sociological framework of law. Part II, dealing with traditional legal systems, contains contributions on "land law in the making", in which the position of the Gusii people of Western Kenya, as at the period 1925-50, is stated; on justice and judgment among the Southern Ibo of Nigeria under colonial rule; on the traditional legal system of the Kuba of the former Kasai Province of the Republic of Congo; and on reasonableness and responsibility in the law of segmentary societies. All these essays, including that in Part I, are by professors of anthropology. The theme of Part III is adaptation and directed change, and it contains chapters on the adaptation of Muslim law in sub-Saharan Africa; on the evolution of legislation in African countries having a French tradition and in Madagascar (this article is in French); on the evolution of law and government in modern Africa; on the adaptation of customary family law in South Africa; and on the future of African law. These are contributed by a number of well-known professors of law and directors of learned institutes.

The volume thus consists of an investigation into the phenomenon of the persistence of the legal systems of traditional African societies under those colonial and white settler regimes which had also introduced their own systems, as well as a consideration of the interrelation of the two sets of systems and the resulting conflicts and problems of choice which face newly independent African governments which have inherited such situations. The theme is by now a familiar one but it is here considered mainly from an anthropological and sociological standpoint.

This is an erudite symposium, of a distinctly academic flavour, which will appeal mainly to students and field workers in the sphere of African customary law.

H. H. MARSHALL.

East African Law Today. *British Institute of International and Comparative Law*, 1966; pp. 151; 21s.

The British Institute of International and Comparative Law has published "East African Law Today", a report containing six papers delivered at the conference held in 1965 at Cumberland Lodge and organised by the Institute, at which aspects of the law in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika were discussed.

Mr. Mwenda, Solicitor-General, Kenya, contrasts the constitutional differences between the East African territories: as he writes of a period of fluidity – with changes taking place particularly in Tanganyika (evolving into Tanzania) and in Uganda and with East Africa's final constitutional shape yet to be fixed with certainty, his paper is one principally of academic interest.

Mr. McAuslan of the Faculty of Law, Dar-es-Salaam, surveys the administrative law in Kenya. He points out that lawyers have played a very small part in the nationalist movements of East Africa (Makerere, of course, had no law school) and that this is not without its drawbacks since there is a layman's tendency to regard "the legal aspects of the administrative process as the means whereby you can force people to develop and punish them if they do not". He feels that the East African lawyer has an important role to

play in teaching his political colleagues that "the law is a great deal more than a coercive force".

Mr. Eugene Cotran of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, looks at the place and future of Customary Law. He points out that the local courts administering Customary Law heard far more cases than the superior courts "whose primary law was the received English law . . . it is ridiculous to speak of Customary Law as being a special law".

Mr. Cotran proceeds to consider the changes effected since independence. He writes "the present written criminal law of Tanganyika takes no account whatsoever of customary criminal law". In fact the independent Tanganyika government took this most carefully into account when the Magistrates Court Act was being drafted and, indeed, Mr. Cotran's own Report on customary Criminal Offences in Kenya proved a valuable reference for use. Almost every customary criminal offence found its place within the penal code (e.g. circumcising a child without parents consent could readily result in a charge of assault or wounding). There was one major issue only – adultery – which required a political decision and the Government decided that adultery should be a tort and not written into the penal code.

Mr. Cotran deals at length with the applicability of customary law in Tanganyika. He makes the point that it is no longer subject to its not being repugnant to justice or morality. In practice, were it held to be repugnant, the courts would not sustain it. In the independent 1960's it was thought that the country was mature enough to have no need to write such a provision into its Magistrates Court Act.

Mr. Cotran, answering criticism made elsewhere by Professor Twining, provides an interesting account of the methodology of customary law restatement in Kenya. In Tanganyika a similar exercise was carried out by the late Hans Cory; but whereas Kenya has waited long to see action on Mr. Cotran's Report, in Tanganyika the Restatements were placed on the statute book prematurely without any refinements of legal drafting and incorporating social and administrative as well as legal aspects of customary law. There is an urgent need for these to be replaced by properly drafted and legally comprehensible Restatements.

Mr. Cotran looks forward to graduates from the Dar-es-Salaam Faculty of Law providing legally qualified expertise in the field of customary law so that customary law may "become as professionalised as the Statutory Law"

Mr. P. J. Nkambo Mugerwa, Solicitor-General of Uganda, considers East African Land Tenure. Since independence Tanganyika has been content to abolish freehold and to let the people "continue under the systems they knew best". In fact the Tanganyika government has gone further and politically inspired legislation has abolished that eternal source of litigation, *Nyarambanja* tenure in Buhaya – without however offering any solution to the land problem other than to leave it to the local authority to devise new land rules. Kenya has proceeded to a Registered Land Act, entrenching individual land rights so as to provide security where once there was uncertainty. In Uganda private land tenure has been entrenched in the constitution and other lands placed under the control of local administrative boards – a solution also followed in Kenya. Mr. Mugerwa asks why in East Africa, in the civil courts the greatest single group of cases relate to land: this may well be so in Kenya and Uganda: in Tanganyika, however, apart from the more closely populated

highland districts it would not be true to say that land cases predominate in the civil courts.

Professor William Twining, until recently Senior Lecturer in Law, Dar-es-Salaam, discusses legal education in East Africa, confining his paper to University and professional levels. The Faculty of Law in Dar-es-Salaam and the Kenya School of Law are contrasted and explained: a look is taken into the future and at the functions of the Councils for Legal Education. The paper does not draw attention to the problem being created by the speed with which legal posts have been Africanised – top legal positions held by those with scant legal experience will mean that those who have to wait and in waiting gain greater knowledge and experience and become abler lawyers than their seniors may well become frustrated and discontented in their profession.

Besides members from East Africa and Britain, the conference was also attended by participants from Germany, India, the United States and Zambia. The proceedings were opened by Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, who contributes a foreword to the report in which he makes special note of the comradeship shown between the representatives from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda whose countries share their highest court, the East African Court of Appeal, and whose future depends upon mutual close co-operation.

P.H.J.

History of East Africa, Vol. 2, edited by VINCENT HARLOW and E. M. CHILVER, *Oxford University Press*; pp. 766, *with appendices, bibliography and index*. 84s.

The paucity of literature dealing with the History of East Africa led the Governments of Tanganyika and Uganda in 1952 to obtain a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for the production of a History of East Africa in three volumes. Despite this official backing the editors have been given complete freedom of action and have received no special privileges of access to official records. The first volume dealing with the earliest knowledge of East Africa down to the 1890's was published in 1963, and Volume Two, which carries on from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the Second World War, has now been published. A feature of these two volumes is that they have been written as a history of Africa and not of the alien invaders – Arab, Portuguese, German and British. But since there is very little written history which can be attributed to the Africans themselves, the editors have of necessity had to depend largely on alien sources especially those with an official origin.

The period of some seventy years covered by this volume may be divided conveniently into two parts. The first deals with the years up to the outbreak of the First World War, during which British administration was established in Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar, and German in Tanganyika. The German period in Tanganyika is well described and there is an excellent brief summary of the military campaign which was fought over the territory for four years and did the country serious damage. In 1919 when Britain was given a mandate over Tanganyika by the League of Nations the whole of East Africa came under British administration but there were surprising differences of policy and even in the outlook of the British Administrators. Kenya went

ahead with its White Highlands policy which on the one hand gave dynamic drive to economic development and on the other brought active politics to the African scene. Uganda was a Protectorate with the Kingdom of Buganda – the richest part – having special treaty relationship with the Crown. With the development of the cotton crop and later coffee, prosperity was brought to the people but there was always a fear of Kenya politics and Nairobi domination which was accentuated by the fact that the railway to Mombasa was the only outlet to the sea. Tanganyika, with the scars of war slowly healing, was backward and economically undeveloped and suffered a further setback with the economic slump in the early 1930's. When covetous eyes were set upon the territory by the Kenya settlers, who envisaged an East Africa under white leadership, Tanganyika took up a defensive position behind its Mandate.

The British Government found itself in a dilemna as to what policy to adopt in Kenya. The local political scene was dominated by the Kenya settlers who, in Lord Delamere, had a formidable leader. They were vigorous and vociferous, restive of outside control and prepared to embark on extreme measures to get their own way. Their achievement was to turn an area about twice the size of Yorkshire into a viable agricultural unit. The Government on the one hand encouraged white settlement, while on the other hand a policy of the 'paramountcy of African interests' was proclaimed. As was to be demonstrated later these two attitudes were incompatible and, as stated at the end of Chapter Six, "By the end of the war (1945) it was clear to the perceptive that the European attempt to build a 'white man's country' in Kenya" must fail. The political moves and counter moves in Kenya and London, which were both various and tortuous are clearly set out in this Chapter.

During this period a number of proposals were made to bring the territories closer together. Federation was mooted but received unenthusiastically. In 1930 a policy of 'Closer Union' was proposed with a High Commissioner to supervise the territories with powers of suppressing and initiating legislation; but this proved to be unacceptable. The Governors Conference established in 1926 continued to operate, though not always very effectively, until 1945 when a White Paper on Inter-Territorial Organisation was published. This was to lead to the eventual establishment of the East African High Commission. But throughout the period Kenya stole the limelight which not only led the other Territories to look upon any form of integration with deep suspicion, but caused political progress in Uganda and Tanganyika to be inhibited by the deference which appeared to be shown to Kenya by the Colonial Office.

An interesting feature of this volume is to be found in the Chapters devoted to the Changes in African Life and it can be said that the Europeans, both official and unofficial, seriously underestimated the quality of the African potential to manage their own affairs. During the years of the Second World War the African population in Kenya and Uganda began to exert urgent pressure for political and administrative reform. In Tanganyika however the movement for reform stemmed from the Government alone.

This volume is a record of British Administration for a period of some seventy years and covers too much ground to be closely reviewed in the space available. Suffice it to say that in the context of the ideas of the time, the

British Officials carried out their duties with a remarkable conscientiousness and with a sympathetic attitude towards the African population. They were actuated by the aim of establishing good government rather than self government and within such limitations and with the restricted financial means available they carried out their task with success. But the events are too near for a final historical judgment to be made on the policies pursued and their effect.

The weakest part of the book is the index which seems to have been compiled without a proper appreciation of the contents and is not only inadequate but often incorrect.

TWINING.

Volunteers in Development, by ADRIAN MOYES. *Overseas Development Institute,* 1966; 8s. 6d.

It is high time for some informed discussion of the volunteer movement which has expanded so rapidly during the past five years that there are now nearly 20,000 volunteers from a dozen countries serving in all parts of the developing world. The report published by the Overseas Development Institute, while its scope is limited, deserves careful reading for the light it throws on the effectiveness of the various volunteer programmes and of the British programme in particular.

The British programme started with the foundation in 1958 of Voluntary Service Overseas, an independent agency which recruited school-leavers from this country and sent them to work for a year in the developing countries. In 1962 Britain entered the graduate field, when V.S.O. and three smaller organisations began to operate a joint scheme under the co-ordination of a committee headed by Sir John Lockwood. The principle of independence was maintained, but the British Government demonstrated its sympathy and approval by providing a subsidy equal to 50 per cent. (later increased to 75 per cent.) of the cost of sending volunteers overseas.

Meanwhile, in 1961, President Kennedy had authorised the formation of the American Peace Corps, which aimed to recruit mainly college graduates. Wholly financed by the American government, the Peace Corps operates on a far larger scale than any other national programme and now has about three times as many volunteers serving overseas as all the other programmes put together.

The British programme has expanded since 1962 at the rate of 40-50 per cent. each year. This year, for the first time, recruitment has passed the one thousand mark and by the end of 1966 there will be between 1200 and 1300 graduate or otherwise professionally qualified volunteers in the field, in addition to 400 school-leavers and ex-apprentices.

This very rapid expansion illustrates a point which should be made at the outset and which does not emerge from the O.D.I. survey. While the number of volunteers coming forward has increased dramatically, so has the volume of requests for their services. In education and in technical training of all kinds, there is a demand for the services of qualified volunteers which demonstrates both the tremendous need for trained manpower in the developing world and the success which volunteers have had in meeting a part of that need in recent years.

The O.D.I. survey, concentrating (as its author makes clear) on the weaknesses rather than the strong points of the British programme, suggests that the programme could be greatly improved by changes of policy on four specific points.

The first of these is the length of volunteer service. British volunteers are called upon to serve for a minimum of one year overseas, while American (and most other) volunteers are recruited for a two-year term, which includes a period of intensive training. The principle that two years' service is far more valuable than one is accepted by everyone concerned with the volunteer movement. Already about a third of all volunteers from Britain either extend their service for more than a year or decide to remain overseas on contract, and the British sending organisations are moving steadily towards a two-year standard term for volunteers. But there are considerations, too important to be brushed aside, which make it impossible, for the moment at least, to insist on two years as the minimum term for which a volunteer is acceptable. To begin with, this would reduce recruitment – according to the best available estimates – by anything from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent.; and while, from an operational point of view, x volunteers serving for two years are the equivalent of 2x serving for only one year; this equation leaves out of account a loss in other directions. A two-year minimum would exclude a large number of volunteers who, for inescapable reasons, could not commit themselves for the longer term. In particular, it would drastically reduce the number of scientists who could come forward and on whom two years of absence from the professional scene at home would impose disadvantages which they could not ignore.

Linked to the question of length of service is the question of the amount of training which a volunteer should receive before going overseas. The O.D.I. survey urges the importance of language training, as well as a more thorough course of orientation for volunteers embarking on their service in an unfamiliar social environment overseas. Again the principle is impeccable – although it is worth remembering that most British volunteers serve in English-speaking territories and often within the framework of an educational system modelled on that of this country. The problem is to find the time to devote to training for volunteers who are not available until the end of the British academic year and who need to return to Britain to find permanent employment approximately a year later. An extended period of training would involve reducing the period of service overseas. One way out of this dilemma is to combine the two and to arrange, as VSO is now doing, orientation courses in the countries where the volunteers serve. With the development of modern techniques in language training, it may also be possible to provide "crash" courses in cases where knowledge of a local language will significantly increase the usefulness of a volunteer, and experiments are being made along these lines.

The ODI survey is critical of the cost of British volunteers to overseas governments, and here it does not take sufficient account of some of the facts of the situation. The American Peace Corps, as a matter of policy, meets almost the whole cost of providing volunteers. The British organisations have always preferred to ask the host country to meet the cost of board and lodging for their volunteers and to provide them with a small allowance for day-to-day expenses. The guiding principle is that such an arrangement, in

which the cost of a volunteer is shared between the sending agency and the host country, disposes of any suggestion of patronage or paternalism and enables both parties, without self-deception, to regard the volunteer programme as one of co-operation and not of aid. Where a government or an institution overseas wants a volunteer but is unable to meet the local costs, machinery exists for subsidising these out of funds provided by the Ministry of Overseas Development.

Finally the ODI survey raises the question of administration and suggests that a single organisation for sending volunteers from Britain would be more practical and less confusing than the present arrangement, which involves a number of different agencies and co-ordinating bodies. There is no question that this is true, but the fact that the several sending agencies feel that they have separate identities and, in some respects, differing objectives, makes it difficult to put it into practice. If these feelings can be overcome it would seem sensible to try at least to achieve a much closer measure of co-ordination, with the eventual aim of giving to the volunteer movement in Britain a more clearly-defined public image and of enabling it to tackle in the most effective way the tasks which it has undertaken.

MICHAEL E. ADAMS.

Other Books Received

Technology for Developing Countries, by Sir JOHN COCKCROFT. *Overseas Development Institute;* pp. 21; 3s. 6d.

O.D.I. have published this lecture which Sir John Cockcroft delivered in London in January. Sir John surveys what is being done in Britain to promote technology for developing countries. His lecture is divided into three parts, dealing first with modern technologies of the more sophisticated type being adopted in some developed countries, then with medium scale technology and finally with the technological developments suitable for small scale agricultural holdings and small scale industries.

International Development 1965, edited by STEFAN H. ROBOCK and LEO M. SOLOMON. *Oceana Publications Inc., New York;* pp. 197 with index; $6.00.

This book is in effect the Report on the seventh World Conference of the Society for International Development, held in Washington, in March, 1965, and contains, mostly in summarised form, the principal papers which were then presented. An impressive panel of distinguished international specialists cover a wide range of subjects in the context of economic and social development relevant to the developing countries of the world.

The Effectiveness of International Supervision, by E. A. LANDY. *Stevens & Sons,* 1966; pp. 268, appendices and Index; £3 17s. 6d.

Mr. Landy, of the staff of the International Labour Office, in a detailed and well documented study of the I.L.O. over a period of thirty years, sets out to show how far systematic supervisory arrangements can help to promote compliance with international obligations.

Of particular interest to readers of this *Journal* will be chapter five in which Mr. Landy discusses the practical difficulties in respect of the non-compliance of ratified conventions – economic, administrative and political; cited are inadequate administrative machinery and lack of trained personnel; he concludes "the improvement of administrative practices and systems . . . should be regarded as of the highest priority".

Education and Training in the Developing Countries, edited by WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT. *Frederick A. Praeger,* 1966; pp. 399; $7.50.

Including the Editor there are 31 contributors to this major survey of the role of United States foreign aid. The material consists mainly of papers presented to the Harvard Conference of 1960 and covers six main themes: problems; education and training in national growth; the role of the U.S. Government, the University, the Foundation and private enterprise; and perspectives.

Catalogue of the Parliamentary Papers of Southern Rhodesia 1899-1953, by F. M. G. WILLSON and GLORIA C. PASSMORE. *University College of Rhodesia* – Department of Government; pp. 484, Index; £2 10s. 0d.

This book is a major catalogue listing almost all reports and papers, other than legislative documents, which were laid before the house, the legislative council and legislative assembly of Southern Rhodesia from the first meeting of the Council in 1899 up to the creation of the federation in 1953. Also included are some of the more important reports of the B.S.A. company in the decade before the legislative council was set up.

The Malagasy Republic, by VIRGINIA THOMPSON and RICHARD ADLOFF. *Stanford University Press, U.S.A.; London: Oxford University Press;* pp. 504, with notes and Index; £5 0s. 0d.

This book provides a very full picture of Madagascar covering both the historical background leading to independence and current developments in the political, social and economic sphere. An interesting chapter is devoted to local government institutions. The authors consider it too soon to generalise about some recent creations which have resulted in a remarkable number of units being set up: the former six provinces have been divided into 19 *prefectures* and 91 *sous-prefectures* and the island has 45 administrative *arrondisements* and 691 cantons.

There are 26 urban and 739 rural *communes*.

Centralization has however been the trend in Malagasy since 1959 and how far the old structures at local level, many now under new names, do much more than subsist is at present uncertain.

Zulu Tribe in Transition, by D. H. READER. *Manchester University Press,* 1966; pp. 365; Bibliography, Appendix, Glossary and Index. 45s.

The *Makhanya* are a Zulu people of Southern Natal. In this study Dr. Reader, after an historical introduction, provides a detailed account of the tribal institutions and finally evaluates the effects of western influence to which they have been subject for more than a century. He concludes that the economic structure of the *Makhanya* has been the most affected. Most remarkable, perhaps, is the extent to which the old customs and social institutions have been retained in an otherwise much changing environment.

Ambiguous Africa, by GEORGES BALANDIER. *Chatto & Windus,* 1966; pp. 276; illustrated; Index. 55s.

In this well illustrated book Professor Balandier of the *Ecole Normale* and the Centre of African Studies at the Sorbonne, conducts a broad and largely sociological survey of emergent Africa, in the main confining his study to franco-phone West Africa; the reader will be able to gain useful understanding of the philosophy of change in Africa besides obtaining an interesting general picture of African society.

The Story of Nigeria, by MICHAEL CROWDER. *Faber & Faber;* pp. 416; appendices, notes, maps, bibliography and index; paperback edition; 13s. 6d.

This is a revised and expanded version of Mr. Crowder's book which was first published in 1962 and contains 30 pages of notes relating to the author's original sources for his historical and other references. This is a very readable history which students should enjoy and absorb.

Path to Nigerian Freedom, by OBAFEMI AWOLOWO. *Faber & Faber;* pp. 137 with index; 9s. 6d.

Chief Awolowo's small book, first published in 1947, now obtains a second, paperback, edition. As Margery Perham writes in her Foreword "it is written in the forthright, almost sledge-hammer tradition of political pamphleteering".

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